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AMERICAN INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION¹

If the Western Hemisphere had been unoccupied by an aboriginal people, the story of its conquest by Europeans would have been quite different. Although the American Indian was the cause of the red line of conflict on the frontier, he made many contributions to our present civilization, and it is the purpose of this paper to summarize and briefly assay them.

The exploration and occupation of the New World was almost everywhere made easier by Indian guides who knew the trails, the portages, and the water courses which their race had used for centuries. The Indian trails, particularly those along the ridges and through mountain gaps, marked the routes of the westward-moving pioneers from the earliest days and even to the era of the railroads. The same is true of the portages connecting natural waterways. As Professor Frederick Jackson Turner has so aptly said:

The buffalo trail became the Indian trail, and this became the trader's "trace;" the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads. . . . The trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City.²

¹ A paper presented on July 14, 1934, at the Shakopee session of the twelfth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society.

² *The Frontier in American History*, 14 (New York, 1921).

Of these trails and portages, many examples may be given. In general the Old Connecticut Path delineated the route for the Boston and Albany Railroad, and the Iroquois Trail that of the New York Central Railroad from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. The Kittanning Path led from Philadelphia up the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers, and Nemacolin's Path connected the Potomac and Ohio rivers, forming an important route for traders from earliest times and for troops during the French and Indian War. The Virginia Warrior's Path with its branches formed the avenue over which the pioneers passed from Virginia and Carolina to the trans-Appalachian region. West of the Mississippi River, the Oregon and Santa Fé trails are notable examples.³ In Minneapolis, Hennepin Avenue follows the ancient Indian trail from Lake Harriet to the Mississippi River just above the Falls of St. Anthony. Probably many of the present-day roads which do not follow section lines are on trails that were first used by the Indians.

The reports of the fur traders, on their return from the Indian villages and fairs to the white outposts, concerning the lands that they had seen were the stimulus that drove the land-hungry and the restless ever onward into the interior. Indian sign languages, developed because of intertribal trade, proved useful to the whites, and Indian

* P. P. Cherry, "Great Aboriginal Highways; or Two Thousand Miles by Indian Trail," in *Ohio Magazine*, 2: 32-42 (January, 1907); Archer B. Hulbert, *Indian Thorougfhfares* (Cleveland, 1902), and *Paths of the Mound-Building Indians and Great Game Animals* (Cleveland, 1902); William E. Myer, "Indian Trails of the Southeast," in United States Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report*, 1924-25, vol. 42, p. 727-857 (Washington, 1928); Mary E. Peters, "Texas Trails," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, 7: 56-66 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1914); Douglas L. Rights, "The Trading Path to the Indians," in the *North Carolina Historical Review*, 8: 403-426 (October, 1931); Frank G. Roe, "The 'Wild Animal Path' Origin of Ancient Roads," in *Antiquity*, 3: 299-311 (September, 1929); A. Hyatt Verrill, "America's First International Highway," in the *Scientific American*, 143: 50 (July, 1930).

wampum was occasionally adopted as a medium of exchange.⁴

When Indian tribes or nations occupied strategic positions along the avenues of expansion, their relative strength determined the length of time that they were able to retard the white man's advance. In such instances the tribes became an important factor in the struggle of the European nations for domination in the New World; and for this reason attempts were made to treat the Indians as quasi subjects. Because of trade relations and alliances, the Algonquians adhered largely to the French and the Iroquois to the English, and this alignment was a decisive factor in the English triumph in the struggle for supremacy in North America. The strength of the Iroquois greatly retarded the white advance along the natural route of expansion up the Hudson-Mohawk Valley. In contrast, the absence of a strong tribe at or near the western end of the Cumberland Gap accelerated the westward movement in this region. The Indian tribes of the lower South were an important element in the diplomatic efforts of the European nations, during and following the American Revolution, to limit the United States to the region east of the Appalachians. In the various wars in which the United States has been involved the Indians have been a factor.

In the English colonies along the Atlantic coast the danger from hostile tribes was probably a decided influence toward nationalism; certainly the danger promoted community cohesiveness and was a damper on the tendency toward scattered settlements. From the close of the seventeenth century various intercolonial conferences were

⁴William B. Weeden, *Indian Money as a Factor in New England Civilization* (Baltimore, 1884); Frederic A. Ogg, "Indian Money in the New England Colonies," in *New England Magazine*, 27: 749-760 (February, 1903); Charles A. Philhower, "Indian Currency and Its Manufacture," and "Wampum, Its Use and Value," in *New Jersey Historical Society, Proceedings*, 13: 310-318, 15: 216-223 (July, 1928; April, 1930).

called to treat with Indians and promote common measures of defense. The most celebrated of these conferences was the Albany Congress of 1754, called to negotiate with the Iroquois and to consider plans of union. The unifying tendencies of the Revolutionary period were in part due to the Indian menace in the hinterland. Particularism was strongest in colonies without an Indian frontier. Each succeeding frontier in the white advance from the Atlantic to the Pacific had its Indian problem, and each was won by bloodshed.

The Indian in the United States and Canada was ultimately diverted to reservations, but the problem of the social and economic relationship of the red and white races still remains.⁵ The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, an expression of the vision of John Collier and others who comprehend this racial clash, will, it is hoped, prove a Magna Charta for the red man and the solution of the problem of the interrelation of the conqueror and the conquered.⁶

In the countries south of the Rio Grande the situation is decidedly different.⁷ The recent election of General Lázaro Cárdenas, a man of pure-Indian lineage, to the presidency of Mexico again reminds us of the overwhelming dominance of Indian and mestizo blood in our neighboring republic. One authority has recently stated that he doubts whether the whites of Mexico exceed half a million in the population of fifteen million. Indian blood predominates in at least ten American republics and it has definitely af-

⁵ For a summary of the policies of the whites toward the Indians in North America, see W. C. McLeod, "Native Policy; North America," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 11: 260-269 (New York, 1933). For a discussion of the contributions of the métis, see Louise S. Houghton, *Our Debt to the Red Man: The French-Indians in the Development of the United States* (Boston, 1918).

⁶ John Collier, "Indians at Work," in the *Survey Graphic*, 23: 261-265, 297, 299-302 (June, 1934).

⁷ For a summary of the policy of the conquerors toward the natives of Latin America, see José Ots y Capdequí, "Native Policy; Latin America," in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, 11: 252-260 (New York, 1933).

fects the national type in sections of several others. The present Indian population of the two Americas is in excess of a conservative minimum of twenty-six million.⁸

The English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish languages as used and developed in the Western Hemisphere utilize many words from the various Indian tongues.⁹ Naturally, this contribution is greatest in Mexico and Central and South America, where the population has remained predominantly Indian in blood. In these regions, the European conquerors and their descendants absorbed into their vocabularies numerous words which the Indians used as symbols for native animals, birds, plants, and insects, and the various purposes for which they are used. Canadian-French has taken over at least fifty words.

The English language has incorporated hundreds of Indian words. Although our tongues have frequently garbled and marred them, maps of North and South America are dotted with place names used by the Indian for rivers, lakes, bays, gulfs, capes, islands, valleys, and mountains, and for designating localities where the white man has developed towns, cities, townships, counties, states, provinces, and republics.¹⁰ Walt Whitman sang of this legacy in his "Starting from Paumanok":

The red aborigines,
Leaving natural breaths, sounds of rain and winds, calls as of
birds and animals in the woods, syllabled to us for names,
Okonee, Koosa, Ottawa, Monongahela, Sauk, Natchez, Chatta-
hoochee, Kaqueta, Oronoco,
Wabash, Miami, Saginaw, Chippewa, Oshkosh, Walla-Walla,
Leaving such to the States, they melt, they depart, charging the
water and the land with names.

⁸ Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage*, 69 (New York, 1928); H. J. Spinden, "The Population of Ancient America," in *Geographical Review*, 18: 641-660 (October, 1928).

⁹ An interesting account of how the English colonists adapted certain Indian words is given by Edward Eggleston in his *Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century*, 99-107 (New York, 1901).

¹⁰ The names of states of Indian origin are: Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Arizona, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Mas-

Indian words are also used, sometimes in abbreviated and modified forms, in naming our clubs, lodges, farms, parks, lakeside cottages, and seashore hotels, and also for ships of war and peace. In addition to place names, American English has absorbed over five hundred Indian words. These represent a wide range of thought and experience.¹¹

This linguistic contribution also includes phrases and expressions which are translations and imitations of aboriginal turns and tricks of thought. Thus we have: brave, Father of Waters, fire water, Great White Father, Great Spirit, happy hunting ground, medicine man, paleface, squaw man, to bury the hatchet, to smoke the pipe of peace, war path, and war paint.

The white man named many things "Indian" because they were his or were associated with him. We have, for example, Indian bread, Indian club, Indian corn, Indian file, Indian gift, Indian hemp, Indian ladder, Indian meal, Indian pudding, and Indian summer. The list of things "Indian" numbers more than a hundred in English, ex-

sachusetts, New Mexico, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The names of Canadian provinces of Indian origin are: Keewatin, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan, Ungava, and Yukon. The names of American republics of Indian origin are: Canada, Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Peru, Chile, Guiana, Uruguay, and Paraguay. For a bibliography on geographic names in the United States, see H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 443-446 (New York, 1921). The lists of words given in footnotes 10 and 11 are based largely on this work, p. 51-53, 100, and 344; Alexander F. Chamberlain, "Algonkian Words in American English," in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 15: 240-267 (October-December, 1902), and his "The Contributions of the American Indian to Civilization," in the American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 16: 93-99 (October, 1903); and William R. Gerard, "Virginia's Indian Contributions to English," in the *American Anthropologist*, 9: 87-112 (January-March, 1907).

¹¹ Among the more common are the following: alpaca, axolotl, barbecue, bayou, buccaneer, cacique, cannibal, canoe, caribou, catalpa, caucous, Chautauqua, chilli, chinquapin, chipmunk, chocolate, cocoa, condor, cougar, coyote, curari, guano, hammock, hickory, hominy, hurricane, ipecacuanha, jaguar, jalap, jerked (beef), kinnikinic, Klondike, llama, mackinaw, mahogany, maize, manito, menhaden, moccasin, moose, mugwump, ocelot, opossum, pampas, papaw, papoose, pecan, peccary, pemmican, persimmon, petunia, pone, potato, powwow, puma, quinine, raccoon, sachem, saga-

clusive of the topographic use of the word. The French "sauvage" and the Spanish "Indio" also have their categories.

The literature and art of the world also owe the Indian much in the way of topic and inspiration. Poems, songs, dramas, novels, chronicles, histories, and folklore have the Indian as their subject.¹² Voltaire considered the speech of the wise old cacique, Colocola, in Alonzo de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, begun in 1558, superior to that of Nestor in the first book of the *Iliad*. Not a few critics agree that Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* (1855) is American literature's most notable poem.¹³ Eighteenth-century liberals believed that the Indian, because of the simplicity of his life, had retained a purity and strength of character which

more, samp, Saratoga, Sequoia, skunk, squash, squaw, succotash, sup-pawn, tamarack, Tammany, tapioca, tapir, tarpon, tipi, terrapin, tobacco, toboggan, tomahawk, tomato, totem, tuckahoe, tuxedo, vicuña, wahoo, wampum, wigwam, woodchuck, and Wyandotte.

¹² For a general statement, see Clark Wissler, "The Universal Appeal of the American Indian," in *Natural History*, 30: 33-40 (January-February, 1930). Chamberlain, in the American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 16: 99-102, cites the following poems: Shakespeare's *Tempest*; Davenant's "Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru"; Dryden's "Indian Queen" and "Indian Emperor"; Sacchini's "Montezuma"; Kotzebue's "Indians of England," "Spaniards in Peru," and "Rolla"; Coleman's "Inkle and Yarico" (dramatized from Steele's tale in the *Spectator*, number 11); Sheridan's "Pizarro" (from Kotzebue); Southey's "Madoc"; Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming"; Whittier's "Mogg Megone," and "Fountain"; Rogers' "Pocahontas"; Mair's "Tecumseh"; Duvar's "De Roberval"; Moore's "Lake of the Dismal Swamp"; Mrs. Hemans' "Messenger Bird," "Stranger in Louisiana," and "Isle of Founts"; Longfellow's "Burial of the Minnisink"; Bryant's "Prairies"; Joaquin Miller's "Californian" and "Last Taschastan"; Lowell's "Chippewa Legend"; Hathaway's "League of the Iroquois"; Fréchet's "La dernière Iroquoise"; Schiller's "Nadower's Totenlied"; and Proctor's "The Songs of the Ancient People." See also Benjamin H. Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1925); Gilbert Chinard, *L'exotisme Américain dans la littérature française au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1911); and Walter S. Campbell, "The Plains Indian in Literature and in Life," in *Trans-Mississippi West*, 175-194 (Boulder, Colorado, 1930). For a detailed study of the Indian as a subject in American literature, see Albert Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (New York, 1933).

¹³ Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature*, 190.

the white man had lost during the evolution of his complex culture. For Rousseau and Chateaubriand the Indian was the embodiment of their dream of nature's nobleman living the perfect life in the American wilderness. The Indian has also appealed to the artist, both individually and by reason of his historic experience. The number of painters, engravers, and sculptors who have taken their subjects from the realm of aboriginal thought and action is legion. Modern architecture and design has also received contributions from the Indian. It has been asserted that the setback feature of the skyscraper was influenced by the Maya temples.¹⁴ Many of the gums and resins, ornamental timbers, and dyewoods now used in furniture making and other arts are a debt to the previous knowledge or experimentation of the Indian.

We may well make the literature of the aborigines part of our own. As Mary Austin has said:

These early Amerinds had been subjected to the American environment for from five to ten thousand years. This had given them time to develop certain characteristic Americanisms. They had become intensely democratic, deeply religious, idealistic, communistic in their control of public utilities, and with a strong bias toward representative government. The problem of the political ring, and the excessive accumulation of private property had already made its appearance within the territory that is now the United States. And along with these things had developed all the varieties of literary expression natural to that temperament and that state of society — oratory, epigram, lyrics, ritual-drama, folk-tale, and epic.¹⁵

¹⁴ Charles A. Eastman, "The Indians' Contribution to the Art of America," in *Red Man*, 7: 133-140 (December, 1914); Amy R. Colton, "The Red Man's Contribution to Our Household Art," in the *Garden and Home Builder*, 44: 31, 62, 74 (September, 1926); Frederick W. Hodge, "What the Indian Says in Ornament; Decorative Motifs and Their Meaning among the Red Men of Our Southwest," in the *Garden and Home Builder*, 44: 33, 68, 70 (September, 1926); Oscar H. Lipps, "History of the Art of Weaving among the Navajos," in *Red Man*, 7: 58-63 (October, 1914); Alfred C. Bossom, "New Styles of American Architecture and What We Might Learn from the Mayas," in *World's Work*, 56: 189-195 (June, 1928).

¹⁵ Mary Austin, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, 4: 610 (New York, 1921).

The permanent worth of the songs and epics, the folk tales and dramas of the Indians, aside from their intrinsic literary quality, is their revelation of the power of the American landscape to influence form, and the expressiveness of democratic living in native measures.

The earlier . . . we . . . think of them as the inevitable outgrowth of the American environment, the more readily shall we come into full use of it: such use as has in other lands produced out of just such materials the plays of Shakespeare, the epics of Homer, the operas of Wagner, the fables of Aesop, the hymns of David, the tales of Andersen, and the Arabian Nights.¹⁶

The chief contribution of the Indian is his agricultural plants, methods, and processes.¹⁷ In his climb toward civilization, the Indian had discovered the advantages of bringing wild plants under control and of breeding them by seed selection, and he had realized the value of cultivating and fertilizing the soil. Unfortunately, his progress was impeded by the fact that America lacked animals that could be domesticated for draft purposes.

Paramount among the food plants domesticated and developed by the Indian and given, directly or indirectly, to the white man is corn or maize. The white potato, originally grown by the Indian in the Andes, was destined to become one of the world's greatest food staples, along with wheat, rice, and corn. Tobacco is one of the most important of our present-day cash crops. Other plants originally used by the Indian are agave, alligator pear or avocado, arrowroot, barnyard grass, the many varieties of kidney and lima beans, cacao, capsicum or Chili pepper, cashew nut, cherimoya, coca, cotton (*Gossypium barbadense* Linn.), gourds of all kinds, guava, Jerusalem artichoke, madia,

¹⁶ Austin, in *Cambridge History of American Literature*, 4: 633.

¹⁷ For a summary of the contributions of the American Indian to agriculture, see the introduction in the present writer's *Agriculture of the American Indians: A Classified List of Annotated Historical References*, issued by the United States Department of Agriculture Library as number 23 of its *Bibliographical Contributions* (Washington, 1933).

manioc or cassava, maté or Paraguay tea, oca, papaw, peanut, pineapple, prickly pear or Indian fig, pumpkin, quinoa, squash, star apple, sweet potato, and tomato.¹⁸

It has been estimated that four-sevenths of the total agricultural production of the United States, measured in farm values, consists of economic plants domesticated by the Indian and taken over by the white man.¹⁹ The extent of the debt to the Indian for his work of domestication is emphasized when we recall that the white man has not reduced to cultivation a single important staple during the four hundred years that he has dominated the New World.

The adaptation of European methods to American conditions proved a problem of extreme difficulty. For several years after their foundation the first colonies faced starvation, and they survived only because they received supplies from the mother country and made purchases and thefts of food from the Indians. The permanence of the colonies was assured only when they were established agriculturally, and this came when they had adopted the crops and tillage methods of the natives. Governor Bradford, referring to Squanto, tells how he came to the relief of the Pilgrim Fathers, "showing them both y^e maner how to set it [*corn*], and after how to dress & tend it. Also he tould them excepte they gott fish & set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing."²⁰ Out of the union of the American Indian and European farming came the solution of the food-quest problem of the colonists and the

¹⁸ This list is based on that given by Clark Wissler in *The American Indian*, 15 (New York, 1922). It may be supplemented by those of G. K. Holmes, in the *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 4: 25-29 (New York, 1912), and of Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, in *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York*, 31-33 (Albany, 1933).

¹⁹ Herbert J. Spinden, "The Population of Ancient America," in *Geographical Review*, 18: 641-660 (October, 1928), and "Thank the American Indian," in *Scientific American*, 138: 330-332 (April, 1928).

²⁰ William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, 100 (Boston, 1856). Details of the debt of one colony to the Indian are given in Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, "Plymouth's Debt to the Indians," in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 13: 345-361 (October, 1920).

beginnings of American agriculture. The first lands occupied by the colonists were the clearings used by the Indian for his crude farms. As a source of man power, the native was of little consequence in North America; in New Spain he made an essential contribution through the medium of the *encomienda* system.

The entire "maize-culture complex"—to use a term of the anthropologist and the sociologist—was taken over by the white man.²¹ The farm of the pioneer, whether in the seventeenth century or the twentieth, is a counterpart of the Indian corn field. The ground is exposed to the sunlight by girdling the trees or scotching their roots, and the trunks and stumps are removed by burning. The kernels of corn are planted in hills three or four feet apart; beans are planted with the corn, and pumpkins and squash between the hills. The soil is cultivated to check the weeds and to keep it loose and friable. Scarecrows—and sometimes children on platforms—are used to keep away the birds. In harvesting the corn, the husking peg is still useful. The corn is stored in slatted cribs upon posts to facilitate air circulation. When used for human food, it is prepared in ways devised by the Indians. It must be granted that the white man has added machinery and animal power to the Indian method of planting corn and other plants of New World origin, but the native system of placing the plants in hills and heaping earth about the stalks during cultivation is still a fundamental process in farming, just as broadcast seeding is essential in growing the grains of Old World origin.

Several varieties of cotton were used by the Indian in pre-Columbian times. It is probably the only important culti-

²¹ Clark Wissler, "Aboriginal Maize Culture as a Typical Culture-complex," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 21: 656-661 (March, 1916). This article is reprinted under the title, "Some Permanent Influences of Aboriginal Cultivation," in L. B. Schmidt and E. D. Ross, eds., *Readings in the Economic History of American Agriculture*, 49-52 (New York, 1925).

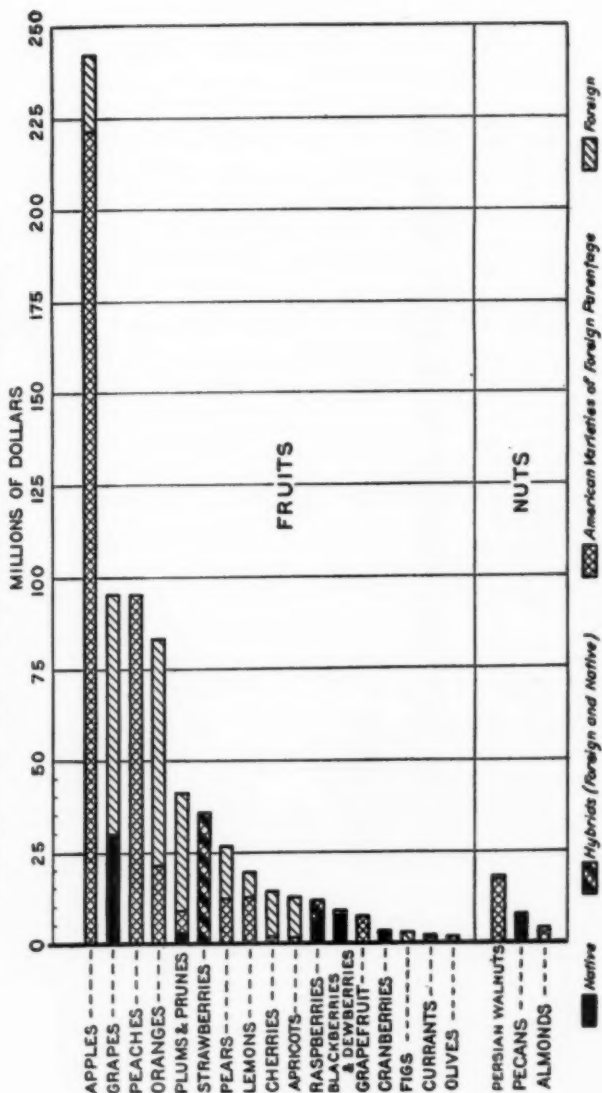
vated plant which was domesticated independently in both hemispheres. Today the mainstay of the world's cotton industry is a native American species, *Gossypium hirsutum*, which was cultivated by the Indians of Mexico. Besides llama wool and alpaca, the Indian used several kinds of the maguey (*Agave americana*) and the *Agave mexicana*, the sisal hemp, the piassava, the leaves of the pineapple, and the ixtle as sources of fiber. In northeastern North America the whites followed the Indian in making ropes and strings from Indian hemp (*Apocynum cannabinum*) and the bark of the leatherwood (*Dirca palustris*). The Indian also realized the properties of rubber. When the Spaniards entered Mexico they watched Indian ball games played in public courts, and obtained balls as souvenirs to send home. A recent writer has referred to this incident as the beginning of the world's rubber trade.²²

Many vegetable products were gathered by the Indians but were not cultivated because of their natural abundance. Berries and roots were important sources of food and medicine. In contrast with our field crops, the American fruit industry is built mainly on fruits not native to this country. Of the different common fruits, the following may be cited as native: blackberry, blueberry, crab apple, cranberry, dewberry, elderberry, June berry, gooseberry (native in distinction from the European type), grape (excepting the European or vinifera type), huckleberry, mulberry (certain relatively unimportant types), persimmon (native in distinction from the Oriental type), plum (native in distinction from the Japanese and European types), raspberry (both red and black), and strawberry. The preponderance of berries in this native list is striking, and the absence of fruit trees is equally so.²³ The accompanying diagrams indicate effectively the relative importance of vegetables and fruits native to the United States and those introduced

²² Emily C. Davis, *Ancient Americans*, 275 (New York, 1931).

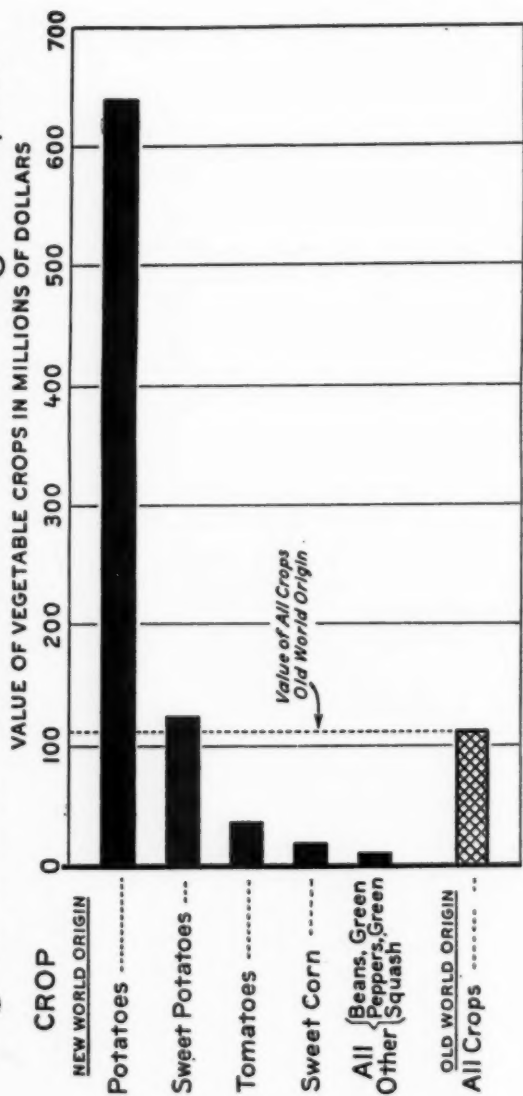
²³ United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1925, p. 112.

VALUE AND NATIVE ORIGIN OF FRUITS AND NUTS



[From the United States Department of Agriculture, Yearbook, 1925, p. 113 (Washington, 1926).]

PRODUCTION IN UNITED STATES, 1919 Vegetables of New World and of Old World Origin Compared



[From the United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook*, 1925, p. 123.]

from other lands. Although the great bulk of the fruit grown represents varieties originated here, they have come largely from foreign species.

As already indicated the Indian had few domesticated animals. The dog alone was practically universal. In the Andes the Incas had llamas and alpacas. The llamas were raised in herds, numbering thousands, and were not only used in transportation, but sheared for their wool and slaughtered for their flesh. Other domestications include the guinea pig by the Incas and the turkey by the tribes of Mexico and the southwestern United States, who kept them for their eggs and feathers as well as for their flesh.

In aboriginal America irrigation was practiced from Arizona to Chile. In the Salt River Valley there were about a hundred and fifty miles of main irrigation ditches, and some of them have been incorporated into the modern systems. In Peru irrigation was carried out on a scale scarcely equalled by modern peoples. The remains of the aqueduct systems of the Inca empires show genius and organization which we of today may well respect.²⁴

Many of our present foods and the methods of cooking them are a heritage from the Indian. Elaborate all-American menus may be prepared; the following may be taken as a sample.²⁵

²⁴ Odd S. Halseth, "Prehistoric Irrigation Systems Revealed by Aerial Survey in Arizona," in *Professional Engineer*, 16: 7, 26 (June-July, 1931); Omar A. Turney, "Prehistoric Irrigation," in *Arizona Historical Review*, vol. 2, no. 1, p. 12-52, no. 2, p. 11-52, no. 3, p. 9-45, no. 4, p. 33-73 (April, 1929-January, 1930).

²⁵ William E. Safford, "Foods Discovered with America," in *Scientific Monthly*, 21: 186 (August, 1925); C. A. Herndon, "A Dinner from the Indians," in *Mentor*, 12: 52 (March, 1924); Marjorie Capron, "An All-American Thanksgiving Dinner," in *World Review*, 3: 151 (November 22, 1926).

Cocktail			
Virginia oysters with tomato and red pepper sauce			
Chowder			
Little-neck clams with tomatoes, green corn, and opossum fat			
or			
Terrapin stew with turtle eggs			
Barbecued shad à la Indienne			
White potatoes		Tamales à la Mexicaine	
Bell peppers or tomatoes stuffed with wild rice			
Turkey stuffed with native chestnuts or oysters			
Cranberry sauce	Sweet potatoes	String beans	Stewed tomatoes
Succotash of lima beans and green corn		Jerusalem artichoke	
Corn pone or hoe cake		Guava jelly	
Salted peanuts			
Sherbert of passion fruit à la Martinique			
or			
Soursop à la Havanne, or, Cherimoya à la Peruvienne			
Quail, ricebirds, or canvasback ducks			
Blackberry or grape jelly			
Salad			
Avocado with dressing of sunflower or hickory nut oil, maple vinegar, cayenne pepper, and salt			
Pineapple tapioca		Pumpkin pudding	Stewed blueberries
Strawberries		Grapes	Wild plums
Pecans	Brazil nuts	Water chinquapins	Hickory nuts
Pine nuts		Hazel nuts	Popcorn
Chocolate		Yerba maté	Cassine tea
Cigars		Cigarettes	

In North America, hominy, pone, sagamity, samp, succotash, and suppawn are typical native dishes. Pemmican and jerked beef were first prepared by the Indian, and in the Great Lakes region wild rice was and still is used in such quantity as to make it a staple. The entire technique of preparing maple sugar has been acquired from the Indian, and his ways of cooking clams by baking them and of preparing fish by planking it have been adopted. The

folk foods of Spanish America are largely aboriginal in origin; so also are the drinks—pulque, mescal, chicha, and cachiri. Various methods of making fruits, herbs, roots, and game more palatable were learned from the natives. Chewing gum is still another contribution.

Following the discovery of America, many of the medicines used by the Indians became popular in Europe.²⁶ While some of these are now regarded as having little therapeutic value, others are still of prime importance. At first, Europeans regarded guaiacum wood (*lignum vite*) and sarsaparilla as the most important American medicines. Another so-called remedy which became popular in Europe was Mexican jade as a cure for kidney diseases. Tobacco and copal were first introduced into Europe as medicines. In the American colonies the Indian doctor who knew the uses of herbs, barks, leaves, roots, and juices treated the white pioneers or taught them their secret remedies. The natives of Bolivia and Peru chewed the leaves of the coca plant long before the Spanish conquest, and they realized its physiological action in diminishing the feeling of fatigue and in dulling pain. Observing these facts, the white man developed cocaine for use as a local anæsthetic. The bark and leaves of the witch-hazel were also widely used for soothing irritations. Cascara sagrada and quinine have proved their merits as remedies, the latter being an aid of inestimable value in conquering the fever-ridden tropics.

The Indian discovered and developed a number of excellent dyes. Chief among these was that made from the cochineal, an insect from southern Mexico, which was domesticated and grown on the nopal or prickly pear cactus. Another important dye, also the result of domestication, was anil or American indigo. In Central America the In-

²⁶ Chamberlain, in American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 16: 118-121; Edwards, *Agriculture of the American Indians*, 74-78, and items cited in its index.

dian used the secretion of the murex shell fish as a purple dye.

The white man has also learned from the Indian lore of the out-of-doors. Recreations such as canoeing, tobogganing, snowshoeing, and la crosse, and the less strenuous diversion of reclining in hammocks are part of this heritage. So also are the ideas and devices relating to hunting and fishing, namely catching fish by torchlight and weirs, calling moose, and the technique of trailing and capturing the larger game and wild animals. The tipi gave Major Henry Hopkins Sibley the idea for his invention of the Sibley army tent. Perhaps the sleeping bag is derived from the warm moss bag of the Athapaskan. The moccasin and the Panama hat are articles of clothing which have been adopted.

Such, in summary, are the contributions of the American Indian to civilization. Applying a well-known inscription—*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*—to the Indian, we may close by saying "If you seek his monument, look around."

EVERETT E. EDWARDS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE POND BROTHERS¹

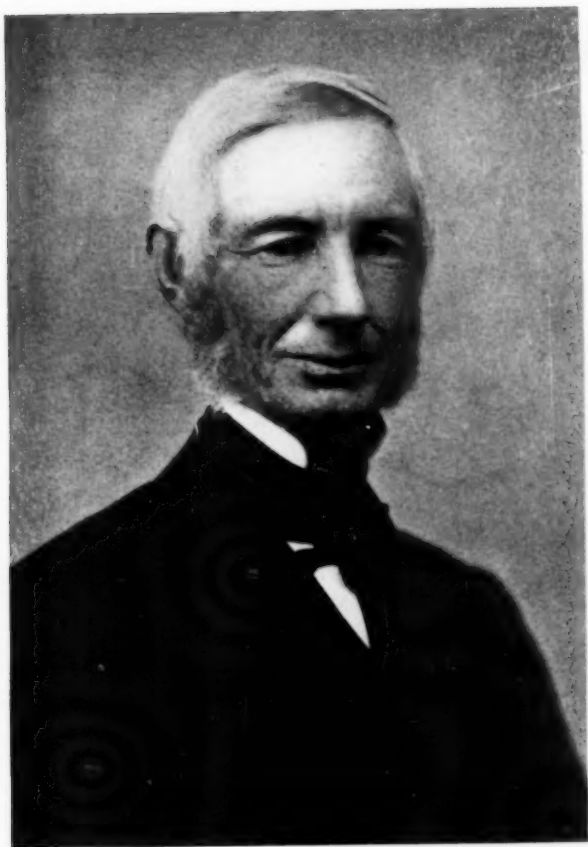
A hundred years ago, on a spring day in 1834, the steamboat "Warrior" puffed its way to the landing at old Fort Snelling and two young Connecticut Yankees, Samuel William Pond and his brother Gideon Hollister Pond, stepped ashore.

They were laymen who had been converted in a New England revival three years earlier and were now seeking a field for missionary work among the Sioux or Dakota Indians of the Northwest. They were without experience as missionaries, had no official backing, lacked even a government permit to enter the Indian country, and did not know the language of the people whose conversion and civilization they wished to promote. Yet they were not without qualifications for the work they proposed to do. They had enjoyed an excellent elementary schooling, had worked on farms, knew how to use their hands, and had practical good sense, simplicity of taste and habit, active and inquiring minds, persistence, and quiet courage. Both men, we are told, "were over six feet tall, stalwart and sinewy, alert and genial." The Sioux named them "Red Eagle" and "Grizzly Bear." The Ponds harbored a pious zeal for their mission, coupled with a firm belief that God had prepared the way for them. "I have a friend who sticketh closer than a brother," wrote Gideon a few days after his arrival. He summed up his first impressions in these words, "Through the protection and mercy of God I have arrived at one of the most beautiful places I ever saw."

¹ An address presented at Lake Harriet on July 14, 1934, as part of a "Pond Centennial Program" arranged by the Hennepin County Historical Committee. This program formed the final session of the twelfth state historical convention conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

The brothers were given an abrupt initiation into their labors. Major Bliss of Fort Snelling held a hearing to determine whether or not to exclude them from the Indian country as unauthorized visitors. He plied Samuel with questions and suddenly asked him to explain the plans that he and his brother had formulated. Samuel answered simply that they "had no plan except to do what seemed most for the benefit of the Indian." The major then told him that the Sioux at the village of Kaposia not far from the fort "wanted plowing done and had a plow and oxen," but did not know how to use them, whereupon Samuel promptly offered to give them a practical demonstration. The offer was accepted. The Indians themselves conveyed a plow in a canoe from Fort Snelling to their village and Samuel drove down a yoke of oxen. He then spent a week's time teaching plowing to Big Thunder—the father of Chief Little Crow—and Big Iron, the missionary driving the oxen, the two Indians alternately holding the implement. Samuel had the insight of a good teacher. "I could have ploughed as well, perhaps better, without their aid," he wrote later, "but I promised to help them only on condition that they would help themselves." Gideon, meanwhile, had a similar experience, for he worked with a plow among the Sioux living near Lake Calhoun. Not least among many notable contributions of the Pond brothers was the willing help they gave the red man in meeting the transition to the white man's mode of life. They grasped the need of understanding the Indian mind; they saw that the natives must learn through doing.

Major Lawrence Taliaferro, the noted Indian agent, had sponsored a Sioux agricultural village under Chief Cloud Man on the southeast side of Lake Calhoun. Upon his suggestion, the Ponds decided to establish their first mission station at that place. They built a two-room cabin of peeled logs with a bark roof. Gideon described it as "a good snug little house"; it "seemed like a palace" to



S. W. Poord.



G. H. Pond

Samuel. "That hut," wrote Gideon later, "was the home of the first citizen settlers of Hennepin County, perhaps of Minnesota, the first school room, the first house for divine worship, and the first mission station among the Dakota Indians." Major Taliaferro was highly pleased with the thought that the two Yankees, thus stationed, would fall in with his idea of teaching the Indians the arts of civilization—how to plow, how to plant corn and potatoes, how to cultivate mother earth. They did indeed give notable assistance to Major Taliaferro, but they made his civilizing scheme secondary to the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. This was their first and central purpose. To achieve it, however, called for a mastery of the Sioux tongue, which had not yet been reduced to written form, and to this task the Pond brothers addressed themselves with industry and shrewd intelligence. Meanwhile, a tour of investigation in Minnesota made for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston by Dr. Thomas S. Williamson in 1834 was bearing fruit. Other missionaries appeared on the scene. In 1835 the Ponds aided Jedediah Stevens in establishing a mission station at Lake Harriet a mile south of their cabin and almost at the very spot where we are holding this meeting tonight. Gideon joined Dr. Williamson at Lac qui Parle in 1836 and remained there three years, aiding the doctor in translating the Bible, while Samuel, not content with his layman's status, returned to Connecticut, was ordained in 1837, and received an appointment as a regular missionary from the American Board. Both brothers returned to Lake Harriet in 1839.

During these years the Ponds, while meeting other demands and performing other duties, were engaged in a thrilling hunt, and their success in bagging game gives them a secure place in history. "The language was the game I went to hunt," wrote Samuel, telling of a Sioux hunting party that he joined, "and I was as eager in the pursuit

of that as the Indians were in pursuit of deer." As early as the winter of 1833, when Samuel, then at Galena, first proposed to Gideon a plan to work among the Sioux, he remarked, "From them we could learn the language which is spoken by a vast number of Indians, from the Mississippi to the Pacific." In his unpublished narrative he tells of his first triumph in the campaign to acquire the Dakota language. This occurred at Prairie du Chien on the way northward to the Minnesota country. He was told by a white man how to ask in Dakota what a thing is called. Seeing a Sioux standing near a heap of iron, he walked up to him, pointed to the iron, and inquired of him the Dakota word for it. The Indian "promptly replied *maza* and then dipped a little water in his hand from the river and said *mini*—then took up a handful of sand and said *wiyaka*." This episode greatly pleased Pond. Telling of it later, he said that "no other acquisition ever afforded me so much pleasure as it did then to be able to say in Dakota What do you call this? We had a key now to the Dakota names of visible objects, and it did not rust in our hands for want of use."

By 1839 Samuel Pond had a dictionary collection of three thousand words and had completed a small manuscript grammar. He and his brother, pioneering in the field, adapted the English alphabet for use in writing Dakota. In order to express a number of strange Dakota consonant sounds they took certain English letters that were not needed in Dakota and gave them "new names and powers." In their alphabet "no two letters could be used to denote the same sound so there was but one way of spelling any given word." That this "Pond alphabet" was workable was proved not only by the fact that a native Sioux, using it, quickly learned to write his own language, but also by the circumstance that it was adopted generally and formed the basis of a great *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language*, published in 1852 under the patronage of



PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE DAKOTA MISSION.—G. H. POND, EDITOR.

VOL. I.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, SEPTEMBER, 1851.

NO. 11

Imahla Shodon, Wi Icel V, 1855.

**Treaty at Mendota.
Makooce Erpeyapi.**

Wakpa Minisota mdote kin en Watonsa wi kin en capote izigtan, omaka hektopawinge wanjidan, sampa opawinge zahdogan qa sampa wikooma zaptan sampa wanjidan (1851) he eban Imahla Wikastayapi tanka lewan ke, en Wikastayapi sampa, uman Ikewicixata owasin aie yapi, Loko Lea eriyapi qa umen kin Minisota makooce kin en Watonsa Ikewicixata ko aie yapi Alexander Ramsey eriyapi, hema Dakota Mdewakantonwan Warpekte ko makooce erpeyapi kta en wahdakai qa wewapi kagapi kin he dwe.

Ochelo I. Inastank' oyate qa Dakota oyate Mdewakantonwan Warpekte ko om otawastapi kin he owihanko aniyas hdeyapi kta.

oompi kin. Taka Mdewakantonwan Warpekte kici akonwanjidan taweyapi qa umanan iyotan kta xni, qa dotanhan tokata wapa uwicikicupi kinhan, tako owasin akidowahan uwicikicupi kta.

Ochelo. IV. Hehan makooce taku iyopuwicikiyapi kin cin iz deewo kta.

Ist. Taka hehukunapi, qa owasin tona cewotana, hdeyapi, qa makooce epeyewicikiyapi kin ekin iyotankapi kinhan toixkupi hdeyapi, qa ekin iyotankapi kinhan, hetanhan waniyeto wanjidan hehanyan detyepetiyapi [kin] heakitya en masaka hektopawinge ene opawinge nampa qa sampa hektopawinge wikooma nampa (#250,000) Taka hema en tahodan sampa leantanka kin eriyapi kin xni; qa wewapi kin de yoon tui kinhan, hetanhan waniyeto wanjidan en hema hdestampi kta. Masaka kin hema Mdewakantonwan wicistayapi wicixehapi hanka wicampi, qa hanka Warpekte

hanyan hdeyapi kta taku epeyewicikiyapi kin hema deewo, tako omaka 1852 Capata wi kin hetanhan tokahoya nyapi kta, tako tokon wewapi kin de en epeyewicikiyapi kin, tanyan ihoni uwicikicixiyapi qa nampa oompi kta xni; Ateriyapi tanka tokon oye cinhan heotat kta.

Ist. Maricanayapi, Wazoon wotran iyukihewicikiyapi kta en masaka hektopawinge wikooma sampa sampa (#12,000.)

2. On wewapi iywapi kin masaka hektopawinge taku (#5,000.)

3. Woycha taku yutapi ko masaka hektopawinge wikooma (#10,000) iyopuwicikiyapi kta.

4. Masaka ene uwicikicupi kin cin he hektopawinge ene wikooma yama (#50,000.)

Ochelo V. Omaka hektopawinge waxyodan sampa opawinge zahdogan sampa wikooma yama sampa takowin (1857) [he o-

the Minnesota Historical Society by the Smithsonian Institution. This work was officially edited by Stephen R. Riggs, who had been tutored in Dakota by Samuel Pond, but it was in a sense an outcome of the collecting begun by the Ponds in 1834. It embodied much of their material and must be considered a climax to their Dakota studies.

Word hunting and recording, however, represent only one aspect of the achievement of the Pond brothers in reference to the Dakota language. Samuel was responsible for a Dakota spelling book issued in 1836, the first work printed in that language. In 1839 he and Gideon brought out a

translation of the *History of Joseph*, from the story in Genesis, and Gideon collaborated with Dr. Riggs in a *Dakota First Reading Book*. Samuel prepared a *Second Dakota Reading Book* in 1842, a *Dakota Catechism* two years later, and various other works; and in the early fifties Gideon actually edited a monthly newspaper or illustrated journal, the *Dakota Tawaxitku Kin*, or *Dakota Friend*, most of which was written in Dakota. This unusual venture had as its purpose the promotion of mutual understanding and good will between red men and white. So a veritable Dakota library was created by the pioneer missionaries among the Sioux. The Ponds, who according to Dr. Folwell "knew and spoke Dakota better than any other white men," deserve honor and recognition as the pioneer recorders of that language, which they found an oral and left a written language. In performing this fascinating task they both became linguists. They learned not only Dakota but Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French; and Samuel also acquired German.

The Ponds were recorders not only of the Dakota language but also of Sioux life and customs. With characteristic missionary patience and fidelity they recorded their experiences and observations in letters and other manuscripts that are today a rich storehouse of dependable information. Samuel's elaborate account of the Sioux as they were in 1834 is perhaps the most detailed and informing description that we have of that nation before it lost its vast hunting grounds. And in his poems he has left a lasting record of the legends of Winona and of the Falls of St. Anthony and also of his own impressions of the beauty and natural charm of Lakes Harriet and Calhoun and of Minnesota, which stirred his imagination:

As with a wild delight I view
Nature, unmarred by hand of man.

There were scenes of barbarism in this primitive Minnesota, however. In 1839, the year when Samuel took charge

JOSEP

OYAKAPI KIN.



MAZA ON KAGAPI.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

1839.

THE

DAKOTA

FIRST READING BOOK.

PREPARED BY

STEPHEN R. HIGGS, and GIDEON H. FOND,
(*Missionaries.*)

PRINTED FOR THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

CINCINNATI:

KENDALL AND MEYER PRINTERS.
1839.

FACSIMILES OF THE TITLE-PAGES OF TWO POND BOOKS

of the Lake Harriet mission, these friendly shores became a "dark and bloody ground." The killing of a Sioux hunter at Lake Harriet in the summer of that year caused the ancient Chippewa-Sioux feud to flare into open war, with bloody battles at Stillwater and Rum River. For a month the Sioux celebrated their triumphs in their Calhoun village with dances under the seventy poles on which they flaunted scalps torn from the bleeding heads of their enemies. The brave agricultural experiment of Taliaferro had run its course; the village was exposed to Chippewa attack on the edge of the Sioux country; and so the Sioux warriors, their wild dances ended and their crops garnered, prudently removed to the Minnesota River near Bloomington.

Thither the Ponds, after some time spent at Fort Snelling and elsewhere, followed them; and there Gideon built a sturdy cabin of tamarack logs in the winter of 1842-43. From that cabin he went to St. Paul to be a member of Minnesota's first territorial legislature in 1849. The present brick house replaced the cabin in 1856, but Gideon, who had been ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1848, remained at Bloomington until his death in 1878, serving in his later years the incoming white settlers. Samuel in 1847 removed to the village of Chief Shakopee to launch a mission and school there, laboring in the midst of a turbulent band until the Sioux removal in the fifties. Then, declining to follow these "lawless, reckless sons of Belial," as he called them, he ministered to the pioneer settlers until 1866, when he retired. But he lived on until 1891, the year when Sibley, who like himself reached the Minnesota country in 1834, died.

In the saga of the Pond brothers a notable place should be given to their wives, who joined the missionaries in meeting the difficult problems of life on the Indian frontier. Gideon married Sarah Poage in 1837, and seventeen years later, following her death, he married Mrs. Robert

Hopkins. Samuel was married in 1838 here at Lake Harriet to Cordelia Eggleston, who died in 1852, after which he married Rebecca Smith. In later generations, as in the frontier era, the Pond family name has been an honored one, and today a Pond Family Association helps to keep green the memories and traditions that bind the name to Minnesota history through a century.

The Minnesota Historical Society is happy to join in this celebration commemorating the centennial of the arrival of the Pond brothers. They fixed in written form the language of the mighty nation of the Sioux. They recorded the native life that flourished in this region a hundred years ago. They taught agriculture and the arts of civilization to the Indians and tried to promote better understanding between the white and red races. They persisted courageously in their efforts to Christianize the Indians in the face of a general tendency of the Sioux to reject the white man's religion. They contributed something to the cultural texture of our western frontier society. They served as ministers to congregations of pioneer settlers. They left a legacy of character marked by simplicity, honor, and good sense. For what they were and for what they did they richly deserve to be remembered and honored by Minnesota and America.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

THE OLD CROSSING CHIPPEWA TREATY AND ITS SEQUEL*

On June 25, 1933, a monument marking the Old Crossing treaty was dedicated at Huot on the Red Lake River. As the superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society stood to deliver an address on that occasion, there arose behind him a stately row of Indians in full panoply, forming a colorful background. Seventy years earlier, on the same site, another speaker—Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota—rose on September 23 to make an address, facing a council of Indians. Although the natives were equally colorful at the earlier gathering, they were not a background, but the audience itself. It was not the first Indian council that Governor Ramsey had called. With the coming of lumbermen, investors, and settlers, the red man had often encountered the white man's denial of the savage theory of ownership—"The Master of Life placed us here, and gave it [*the land*] to us for an inheritance."¹

The pale faces of the fourth and fifth frontier, as Professor Turner calls them, did not want the Indians as neighbors and companions. The explorers, the gay voyageurs, the fur traders, and the missionaries had for the most part lived in peace with the red men and had prospered through the roving, trapping, and gunning of the Indians so long

* A paper read at the afternoon session of the eighty-fifth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, held in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on January 8, 1934. *Ed.*

¹ A document which includes the terms of the Old Crossing treaty, the president's letter of transmittal to the Senate, and the "Journal of the Proceedings Connected with the Negotiation" was "ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate" on January 8, 1864. It appeared as 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P. A copy is bound with the Ramsey Pamphlets in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, volume 2, number 26. For the statement quoted, see p. 18.

as they kept out of war with neighboring tribes. The farmer with his family was obliged to clear the land, free himself from his pilfering and terrifying neighbors, possess title to his claim, and procure safe routes for travel and transportation; the lumber companies had to obtain clearing rights or ownership of land; established trading lines looked for safe routes of travel; and military forces sought the right to move unmolested over roads between posts. All these intruders in the red man's country pressed their claims as time went on. The original land holder was dispossessed of large areas by successive treaties with United States representatives, definitely authorized or not, and the government began a concentration policy by establishing reservations in a few localities.²

Governor Ramsey was no novice at making treaties with the Indians when he departed for Red Lake River in 1863 to negotiate for safe transportation routes. In 1851 he had been at Pembina in the Red River Valley on a treaty mission to satisfy the demands of the half-breeds for "a fee simple title to the lands they live upon" and of the squatters living near Pembina for clear land titles when they found themselves south of the international boundary and on Indian land. On September 20, 1851, after five days of feasting and speaking, a treaty was signed conceding an area of five million acres on both sides of the Red River down to the Sioux-Chippewa boundary line of 1825 for two cents an acre, payments being five per cent annuities on two hundred thousand dollars for twenty years. Ramsey, commenting on the acquisition of these rich lands, said, "The Indians might have been induced, under the pressure of their necessities, to part with them for a much less sum had the representative of the government thought it consistent with its dignity, or honorable to its humanity, to

² William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 288 (St. Paul, 1921). See also a map on page 324 of this work showing Minnesota Indian land cessions and reservations to 1858.

insist upon making the best bargain with poor, ignorant savages it was possible to obtain."³

The negotiations of 1851 and 1863 make an interesting parallel study. In the earlier, the Indian was to be "concentrated at the head of the waters, the land being entirely unsuited and undesirable for white occupation," but in Congress "vigorous opposition at once appeared" to all the Minnesota Indian treaties negotiated in 1851. On June 26, 1852, Henry H. Sibley, the Minnesota delegate in Congress, wrote to Governor Ramsey: "The long agony is over. . . . The Pembina treaty went by the board. . . . It had to be offered up as a conciliatory sacrifice by the friends of the other treaties"—that is, the Traverse des Sioux and Mendota treaties.⁴ Some further negotiations seem to have been started in 1861, but they were checked by Matwakoonoind, a Red Lake Indian chief. In fact, Joseph A. Wheelock, editor of the *St. Paul Daily Press*, stated that five or six attempts had been made to treat with the Red Lake and Pembina Indians before 1863.⁵

By 1862 a new group joined in the demands for arrangements with the Indians. With the growth of the Red River trade, protection from raids was needed. Steamboat trade was begun in 1859. The "East Plains" and "Woods" routes on the Red River trails were open to Chippewa attack,⁶ and the Pembina Chippewa group, by virtue of its strategic location, could control all three Red

³ 32 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 284-288 (serial 613).

⁴ 32 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, vol. 3, no. 1, p. 286 (serial 613); Henry H. Sibley to Alexander Ramsey, June 26, 1852, Ramsey Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 290.

⁵ *Saint Paul Daily Press*, October 14, 1863. A file of this newspaper is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁶ Grace L. Nute, "The Red River Trails," *ante*, 6: 279-282; Russell Blakely, "Opening the Red River of the North to Commerce," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 47-58. The routes are shown on a map accompanying Miss Nute's article.

River trails. Another attempt to deal with the Pembina and Red Lake Indians resulted.

In 1862 William P. Dole, commissioner of Indian affairs, and John G. Nicolay, President Lincoln's private secretary, reached Minnesota for a trip to the Red River Valley, in order to arrange for a treaty as authorized by Congress. A train of thirty wagons loaded with Indian goods and a herd of about two hundred cattle preceded Dole and Nicolay and reached Fort Abercrombie about the middle of August. The officer in charge of this post received on August 23 an order to detain the goods and animals because of the Sioux Outbreak, which had started only a few days earlier, and the treaty plans were abandoned.⁷ When the treaty party started west, Hole-in-the-Day, head chief of the Chippewa of the Mississippi, was giving serious concern to the whites. Rumors were abroad that he was gathering the Chippewa to join in the Sioux uprising. Hole-in-the-Day refused to guarantee safe military routes, and demanded that the government turn over to him ten thousand dollars worth of goods—he probably had in mind the Indian goods brought to Fort Abercrombie for the proposed Red Lake treaty—if it wanted no further trouble from him.⁸

The call for a treaty council in 1863 was made the more urgent because of an irritating episode connected with the journey of 1862. The Red Lake and Pembina Indians had met in accordance with their instructions to "collect at the mouth of the Red Lake River, on the 25th of August, 1862." There they waited for a considerable time, consuming all their provisions. Norman W. Kittson was

⁷ Folwell, *Minnesota*, 2: 168 (St. Paul, 1924); Major C. P. Adams to Lieutenant D. Scott, December 4, 1865, Adams Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

⁸ John Nicolay, "Hole-in-the-Day," in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 26: 186-191 (January, 1863); United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Reports*, 1862, p. 73-83.

passing through with about twenty-five thousand dollars worth of goods belonging in part to British subjects, agents of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Indians knew Kittson as a friend, but he had passed through their territory without paying for the privilege. Therefore they used some of his goods as part payment. This incident, added to earlier troubles of traders in the Red River Valley, spurred the commissioner of Indian affairs to hurry the reopening of treaty negotiations. On July 6, 1863, Ramsey wrote to Bishop Henry B. Whipple:

So far I have nothing further than verbal instructions . . . as to the treaty to be effected with the Chippewa for the free navigation of the Red River & the cession of a strip of land fifteen or twenty miles on either side of that river. . . . I should be pleased to have you or your friends of the party.⁹

On August 24 supply trains with the treaty goods were finally on their way, preceding the delegation. It was an interesting party that left St. Paul. Governor Ramsey wrote in his diary on September 2: "Taking a two horse carriage of Benson left with Ben. Thompson & Hon Reuben Ottman for Red Lake Treaty." Wheelock describes Ben Thompson as "the efficient commissary of the Expedition—who gives every evidence of being fully equal to the weighty and responsible duties of his position." Wheelock was secretary of the expedition. From St. Cloud he wrote to his wife:

I had a couple of charming compagnons du voyage in Bishop Whipple and a friend of his named Tiffany. . . . I found the Bishop whom I had never met before a most delightful chatty fellow. He entered the coach at the International smoking a sweet briar pipe and introduced himself to me in the car. . . . The Bishop himself, whose sweet briar pipe and free and easy manner rather upsets one's conceptions of Episcopal dignity, was on rapport with his sporting friend [Tiffany] on questions of game. In fact, I found the Bishop belonged to the muscular school of Christians. . . . We chatted inter-

⁹ Return I. Holcombe, *History and Biography of Polk County*, 52-54 (Minneapolis, 1916); Ramsey to Henry B. Whipple, July 6, 1863, Whipple Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

mittently all day, ranging through all possible fields of literature, theology, ectheology, ornithology, zoology, history, and everything which the sight of the frontier suggests.¹⁰

J. G. Morrison, special interpreter, military officers, and members of the cavalry completed the company. At Richmond two companies of Sibley's mounted men joined the escort.

As one reads Wheelock's description, a pageant is marshalled before one's eyes of "sixty army supply waggons, drawn by mules . . . thirteen wagons from St. Paul, containing Indian goods . . . four or five passenger conveyances," and an "escort . . . of three companies of mounted men." The cavalcade becomes more imposing as one visualizes its array of two hundred and ninety men, three hundred and forty mules, one hundred and eighty horses, fifty-five oxen, and ninety vehicles proceeding toward Red Lake River from Fort Abercrombie.¹¹

On September 7 misfortune touched the party. Near Sauk Center and within a hundred yards of the military camp of the supply train's escort, a farmer was murdered by the Indians while protecting his barns. Another unfortunate incident occurred when the carriage that was conveying Bishop Whipple to Sauk Center was upset through the carelessness of the driver. Because of an injury to Whipple's hand, the party was deprived of the bishop's company beyond the post and this staunch friend of the Indians was not present at the treaty council.¹²

The procession wound on by way of Alexandria, Chipping Lake, and Fort Pomme de Terre, over a broken country to the crossing of the Otter Tail River, until at eleven

¹⁰ *Press*, September 12, 1863; Joseph A. Wheelock to Mrs. Wheelock, September 14, 1863. This letter is in the possession of Miss Ellen Wheelock of St. Paul.

¹¹ *Press*, September 12, 22, 1863; 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., page 11.

¹² Ramsey Diary, September 7, 1863. The original of this diary is owned by the governor's daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul; the Minnesota Historical Society has a copy.

o'clock on September 12 the advance carriages reached Fort Abercrombie. The supply carts had been there since September 3. There the train was augmented by taking on the remaining supplies of 1862, some twenty-eight thousand pounds of treaty goods. The party then plunged "into the fathomless solitudes of the wild west." Its hunters succeeded in supplying it with duck, plover, and other game, which, as Wheelock wrote, were cooked in a style that "would be no discredit to Delmonico." The travelers followed the Red River to Buffalo, near Georgetown, and over a level country to the Wild Rice River, and north along the Red River to Sand Hill. There they left the river and on horseback, rather than by carriage, traveled to the Red Lake River crossing, which was reached on the morning of September 21.¹³

The numerous problems that faced Ramsey and his aides might easily have deterred a less experienced group. The Red Lake band under Ashley C. Morrill, the Indian agent, was already encamped in large numbers, and the Pembina group had not arrived. The next day, however, the latter appeared under Charles Bottineau's direction. On September 28, as guests of the government, there were present 579 Indians and 24 half-breeds of Red Lake, and 352 Indians and 663 half-breeds of Pembina. According to Ramsey, however, "not more than a hundred . . . would strictly come within the actual terms of my invitation." With 1,618 guests and their horses and numerous dogs to provide for, it is not surprising that Ramsey wished "expeditious despatch of business to accomplish the objects in view before exhausting our stock of provisions."¹⁴

¹³Ramsey Diary, September 7 to 21, 1863; Wheelock to Mrs. Wheelock, September 7, 1863. The events of the journey to the crossing of the Red Lake River are fully described in the *Press*, and in the Ramsey Diary for September 2 to 21, 1863. See especially the reports in the *Press* for September 12 and October 2 and 20, 1863.

¹⁴38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*. P., page 7.

The opening council of the negotiations began, according to Wheelock, with hand shaking. Thereupon the chiefs sat on the ground before Governor Ramsey, "their headmen ranged in the same posture behind them, lit their black stone pipes and smoked in silence." About them gathered all those interested in the proceedings. The Great Father's food was offered to them, and tobacco was provided. Governor Ramsey opened the discussion by condemning their common enemy, the Sioux, and praising the Chippewa for never violating the "solemn faith of treaties."

Numerous obstacles, however, arose at the beginning of the negotiations. When Hole-in-the-Day appeared at the council, Little Rock, the appointed Chippewa spokesman, refused to proceed through fear "that one who talks my own language is the weapon you are going to use against us." Moreover, the Indians feared punishment for depredations of the preceding years. Not until Ramsey promised on the fourth day to "take away that which squeezes" them, did the conference make any progress. Negotiations were further delayed by the Pembina half-breeds, who advised large annuities. Many of the Indians were stolidly indifferent to the business before them, finding horse racing more enticing than conferences. Even the chiefs were reluctant to assume responsibility in matters of importance.¹⁵

Ramsey's offer to purchase a right of way through the Indian country for twenty thousand dollars was the first problem submitted to the Indians. "After spending the night in . . . profound and solemn fumigation the Chiefs sent word the next morning . . . that they would be ready to meet the Commissioners at noon."¹⁶ As Ramsey expected, his offer was emphatically rejected. From the Indian point of view, the sum offered was small, and such an agreement in reference to the right of way would have

¹⁵ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., pages 10, 15, 16, 23-25; *Press*, October 2, 1863.

¹⁶ Ramsey Diary, September 26, 1863; *Press*, October 23, 1863.

postponed a lucrative land treaty, impaired the strength of the Indian claim to jurisdiction over their land, and abrogated their right to levy toll on merchants and steamboats passing through the country. Moreover, many complications would have arisen in a few years when settlers should attempt to secure titles to the land.¹⁷

The Indian view on this matter is revealed in Little Rock's speeches, which were filled with epigrammatic and striking eloquence, a real challenge to the government's representatives. He reasoned incisively against pressing his people into negotiation. He declared:

It seems now that the white man is passing backward and forward, and wresting these prairies from our hands, and taking this food from my mouth. . . . When your young men steal anything, you make them pay for their depredations. That is the way we look upon those white men who drove away the animals and the fish the Great Spirit has given us for our support.

He disposed of the problem of right of way in sharp terms when he said, "If you had wanted a right of way over the roads and rivers you would have consulted us before you took it." His speech made frequent reference to the Great Spirit. "The Master of Life, when he put you here, never told you that you should own the soil," he asserted solemnly, "nor, when the Master of Life put me here, did he tell me that you should own the soil."¹⁸

Ramsey, however, immediately presented a plea for the purchase of the land of the Indians, for he believed that in their opinion it was "a matter of much less consequence what they surrendered, than what they obtained in exchange for the surrender." As Ramsey saw it, the purchase was necessary "at least of such of their lands as could, for many years, fall within the possible exigencies of trade, emigration, or settlement." The governor pointed out that hun-

¹⁷ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., page 8.

¹⁸ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., pages 20, 23, 25.

dreds of carts employed in trade between Fort Garry and St. Paul were constantly passing through the region; a steamboat was plying on the Red River; the St. Paul and Pacific railroad, in the course of construction, ran for two hundred miles through the ceded tract; a Pembina to St. Paul telegraph was likely to be constructed as an extension of a line between Pembina and the Pacific. He contended that the Indians had lands which many of them never saw and from which they derived nothing. If occupied by white men, however, these lands would yield abundant food, blankets, and whatever else the Indians needed. "If they sold the land," he said, "they could still occupy and hunt it as heretofore, probably for a long time"; and, in the event of making a treaty, "their half-breed friends should have homes upon the ceded tract."¹⁹

Negotiations were slow. Finally, the white men made threatening speeches, in an irritated tone, calculated to break down the Chippewa's tenacity. If the Indians refused to make a treaty, said Ramsey, "they would be held answerable for the wrongs they had done." He accused the Pembina Indians of harboring the Sioux. "Both the Pembina and Red Lake Indians," he said, "are coming here to sell a country that the Sioux own more than they do, and ask ten times as much as it would be worth if they owned it themselves." Little Rock refuted this argument. "Whenever our people go to hunt for the Sioux," he said, "they do not find them on the Sheyenne, but have to go clear beyond." "While the Sioux were in quiet possession of that country," the chief continued, "my ancestors had not laid down the tomahawk. We drove them . . . towards the Rocky mountains; and when we had driven them off, then we claimed the land as our own." When the natives were offered a sixtieth of the price they demanded, one of the chiefs expressed regret "that the Great Father thinks so

¹⁹ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., pages 8, 9, 11, 19, 20.

lightly of our land. . . . The reason that my price looks large to you," he continued, "you forget that the land will be yours as long as the world lasts."²⁰

On October 1 Ramsey noted: "To day it looked as if all hope of success was gone. . . . During the night the two Bottineaus, Pierre & Chas. and Frank & Peter Roy with Robt. Fairbanks & Thompson we[n]t to work industriously."²¹ What psychology they used on the individual chiefs—for the council had now been reduced to chiefs—is untold; but the next day, October 2, fourteen days after the negotiations opened, the treaty was signed. On Sunday, October 3, the treaty goods and provisions were distributed. Medals were given to the chiefs. All had signed but one, Matwakoonind, the head chief. Ramsey claimed that he refused from motives of pride, although Wheelock credited his refusal to an inherited aversion to surrender. According to Bishop Whipple, the chief refused because the treaty failed to embody certain provisions for education and goods which the missionary had urged the Indians to demand. Both Ramsey and his secretary claimed that the chief gave his verbal consent to the treaty. Some chiefs were promised the fulfillment of a request that they made to go to Washington, not out of dissatisfaction but "to see the power of the 'Great Father.'"²²

What had come out of this strenuous fortnight? The ceded area extended roughly from the west shore of the Lake of the Woods and the forty-ninth parallel to Thief River, to the Red Lake River, southeast to the Wild Rice River and along it to the Red River, up the Sheyenne to Poplar Grove, thence to Salt River, and due north to the forty-ninth parallel, an area of 9,750,000 acres as surveyed. For this tract, twenty thousand dollars was to be paid an-

²⁰ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., pages 20, 25, 28, 31, 32, 35, 37, 39.

²¹ Ramsey Diary, October 1, 2, 1863.

²² 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., page 9; *Press*, October 16, 1863.



nually for twenty years in equal amounts per capita for enrolled members of the bands, and five thousand dollars of this was to be used for agriculture and education. The traders were to receive from the United States a hundred thousand dollars as compensation for losses sustained as a result of depredations, for which the Indians were granted amnesty. Any residue after the traders' claims were settled was to be paid to chiefs. For various purposes certain money was set aside: two thousand dollars out of the first

payment for twine, powder, lead; a maximum of a hundred and fifty dollars a year to each chief; a sufficient sum from the first payment to build a five-hundred-dollar home for each chief; and five thousand dollars for building a road from Leech Lake to Red Lake. A board of visitors was to be appointed by the government to attend to annuity payments by November 1. A hundred and sixty acres were to be granted to each male adult half-breed or mixed-blood who adopted the customs of civilized life or became a citizen of the United States and homesteaded the claim for five years. Chiefs Moose-Dung and Red Bear each received reservations of six hundred and forty acres. Three-fourths of the payment was to be made in money.²³ Folwell commented thus on the policy of the negotiators: "Cash annuities they [*the commissioners*] should have known and did know passed almost immediately into the hands of traders quite irrespective of value received."²⁴

The treaty had an immediate sequel, which had been foreshadowed even before the negotiations began. At Red Lake in 1861 Matwakoonind, who refused to sign the 1863 treaty, had defeated an attempt to make a treaty with the Red Lake Chippewa "allowing one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for traders' claims." In 1862 Bishop Whipple met this chief, "six feet and four inches in height, straight as an arrow, with flashing eyes, frank, open countenance, and as dignified in bearing as one of a kingly race." To the bishop, Matwakoonind had turned for advice. "They will come some day and ask us to make a treaty," he said. "Will you tell me what to say to them? The Indians to the East have sold their land and have perished. I want my people to live."²⁵

²³ Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, 2: 853-855 (Washington, 1904).

²⁴ Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 281.

²⁵ Henry B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate*, 142 (Minneapolis, 1900); Folwell, *Minnesota*, 4: 476 (St. Paul, 1930).

What Bishop Whipple advised can be deduced from the chief's letter to the bishop dated October 9, 1863. He wrote:

Our lands were given up by persons, who had no right to do so, without our consent & that of our warriors & young men. We do not wish to withhold our lands from our great father, but we wished to make such arrangements as to better the conditions of our people, when you visited us last summer, you are aware that I was anxious to have a school whereby our children could learn to read, & we always thought of farming on a larger scale than at present. . . . We have requested of our Agent, to write to our great father at Washington & say to him that we would like to go & see him at his home. . . . We intend to go to Washington.²⁶

Whipple visited Washington in March, 1864, having been preceded by the Indian delegation.

After the treaty of 1863 had been submitted to the Senate in December, it was so amended that any money left after the claims of traders were settled would revert to the general fund and would not be paid out to the chiefs at once. This amendment the Indians themselves refused to accept in a council held with Commissioner Dole on April 7, 1864. The latter asked Whipple, who arrived in Washington in March, for aid in working out a revision that would be acceptable to the Indians. Apparently the situation was somewhat confused, for, according to one witness of events, the Indians "delay^d so long before it could be found out what they wanted, that the Com^r got tired of them, & wrote out the treaty & told them, that they should have to sign that treaty or go home without one." They then signed the treaty, which took the place of the one negotiated in the Red River Valley the preceding summer, and the new agreement was ratified by the Senate on April 12.²⁷

The changes made in the new treaty followed the lines

²⁶ Matwakoonind to Whipple, October 9, 1863; George Bonga to Whipple, October 14, 1863, Whipple Papers.

²⁷ William P. Dole to Whipple, April 9, 1864; Bonga to Whipple, April 14, 1864, Whipple Papers; Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, 2: 861.

urged by Bishop Whipple and the younger head chief of the Red Lake band. The latter evidently had not withheld his signature simply through "wounded pride." The treaty divided the annuities and provisions for the Pembina and Red Lake Indians. It provided for various industrial, agricultural, and educational aids. For fifteen years the Red Lake band was to receive eight thousand dollars annually, and the Pembina band was to get four thousand dollars for twine, calico, linsey, blankets, farming tools, and the like. The treaty further provided for the services of a blacksmith, a physician, a miller, and a farmer. Other arrangements called for fifteen hundred dollars worth of iron and steel, and a thousand dollars for carpenter work and the construction of a sawmill and a gristmill. It reduced the amount of money available for the payment of claims for depredations from a hundred thousand dollars to seventy-five thousand dollars. The twenty-five thousand dollars difference was to be paid to the chiefs through agents, upon ratification of the articles of the new treaty, to enable them to purchase provisions, clothing, and presents for distribution to the people upon return to their homes. Any residue of the seventy-five thousand dollars after the payment of priority debts of traders and steamboat proprietors should be used to pay debts incurred by tribes since January 1, 1859. The scrip issued to half-breeds in accordance with the treaty could be used within the cession only. Unfortunately the Indian chiefs did not receive the promised twenty-five thousand dollars when they ratified the treaty. They were informed that an agent would employ the fund in buying goods for them in New York.²⁸

For the execution of the treaty the same board of visitors that had served with the Mississippi Chippewa was

²⁸ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., page 36; Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, 2: 861; J. J. Johnson to Whipple, April 28, 1864, Whipple Papers.

named—Bishops Whipple and Thomas L. Grace of Minnesota and Thomas S. Williamson of Iowa. They were to see all books, papers, letters, and amounts of goods and money; to examine annuity goods at posts or in transit to ascertain their quality and quantity; and to make annuity payments.²⁹

The treaties of 1863 and 1864 seem to represent the conflict of two distinct policies and theories of Indian control. One looked at the problem through the eyes of the settlers, the lumber interests, the merchants, and the railroad builders, about whom Ramsey told the Indians. "For some wise reason which we cannot comprehend, the Great Spirit is pressing these white people all over the country," he said. The first concern of this group, as traced in the treaties of 1851 and 1863, was to make a good bargain for the government. With a bit of pride, the chief negotiator wrote to the Indian commissioner in 1863 that "it is believed that no territorial acquisitions of equal intrinsic value have been made from the Indians at so low a rate per acre." A policy upon which there was much variance in 1864 was the form of annuity payment. Ramsey planned that three-fourths of the annuities should be paid in money, for "this form of payment was regarded as at once the most convenient for the government . . . and experience has proved it to be far better for the Indian."³⁰ In contradiction to this policy, Henry M. Rice believed there should be specific amounts provided for agriculture, saw-mills, schools, and the like in order to provide protection for the improvident Indian.

The movement for the reformation of the Indian policy was led by such men as Ignatius Donnelly and Bishop Whipple. Rice, strongly set against money awards, shared

²⁹ Robert B. Van Valkenburgh to Edwin Clark, September 7, 1865, Whipple Papers.

³⁰ 38 Congress, 1 session, *Confidential Executive Documents*, P., pages 10, 25.

their view and declared: "A radical change must be made or the Indian [is] doomed to destruction." But of the Senate and the department of the interior he wrote: "I look for no aid here." Donnelly charged wholesale fraud in connection with appropriations requested for the concentration of Indians living on five reservations in the neighborhood of Leech and Gull lakes, and Whipple wrote to him: "I was glad to see you expose the dishonesty of that appropriation. . . . Nothing for the Indians, but thousands for the Department, unless it is so honest it would not avail itself of the opportunity to steal." Whipple suggested that Donnelly draw up plans for a more adequate system of Indian administration for presentation to the next Congress.³¹ Donnelly carried out this suggestion by proposing the abandonment of treaty making, and the removal of the whole Indian body to some region outside the organized state. He suggested that the government make each Indian the owner of two hundred acres secured by patent and provided with animals and implements of farming, provide Indian homes in villages with small garden plots, distribute all goods and money through military officers, remove traders who destroyed agricultural interests, and in time merge the Indians with settlers.³²

Whipple understood clearly the evils in the old system of Indian administration. He wrote:

Our first dealing with these savages is one of those blunders which is worse than a crime. . . . We treat as an independent nation a people whom we will not permit to exercise one single element of that sovereign power which is necessary to a nation's existence.

The treaty is usually conceived and executed in fraud. The ostensible parties to the treaty are the government of the United States and the Indians; the *real* parties are the Indian agents, traders, and politicians. The avowed purpose of the treaty is for a Christian

³¹ Henry M. Rice to Whipple, February 7, 1863, Whipple Papers; Whipple to Ignatius Donnelly, May 17, 1864, Donnelly Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Donnelly's attack on appropriations is summed up in the *St. Paul Pioneer* of May 15, 1864.

³² Folwell, *Minnesota*, 3: 27-29 (St. Paul, 1926).

nation to acquire certain lands at a fair price, and make provision that the purchase-money shall be wisely expended, so as to secure the civilization of the Indians. The real design is to pay certain worthless debts of the Indian traders, to satisfy such claims, good or bad, against the Indians, as have been or may be made, and to create places where political favorites may receive their reward for political service. . . . Those chiefs who cannot be bribed or deceived by false interpretations have in some instances been deposed, and more pliable tools appointed in their place.

Whipple goes on to say that the chiefs are "made drunk" and are then robbed of the "very money which had been paid them as a bribe," that provisions in treaties for schools and supplies are often a mere sham, that the liquor trade reaches the reservation from traders on ceded lands under state jurisdiction, and that the government in making payments often deducts for thefts from traders or agencies. The bishop urged the government to give the Indians the protection of law and to treat them as "wards for whom we are responsible." He also asked the government to concentrate tribes on a few reservations, establish schools and churches, promote Indian farming, and place Indian agents and employees of the Indian department beyond the reach of politics.³³ The treaty of 1864 was a slight triumph for the group of reformers who urged the idealistic plan of making the Indian a settled farmer whose children had the benefits of schools and of churches and missions.

The victory of one part of a policy in a formal treaty does not necessarily prove its security then or in later years. The true evaluation lies in the years ahead. When Bishop Whipple in 1885 laid before Congress his plan for the

³³ See a review of the *Report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for 1863*, and of I. V. D. Heard's *History of the Sioux War* (1863), in the *North American Review*, 99: 449-464 (October, 1864). An interesting speculation arises as to the true authorship of this review. In the Whipple Papers are letters negotiating for a review by the bishop and notifying him of its receipt for publication in the issue of October, 1864. In both style and content, even to quotations from *Lights and Shadows*, the article is clearly Whipple's. In 1869 treaty-making ended and agents were no longer political appointees.

consolidation of all Indians on the White Earth reservation, it was found that the Red Lake Indians were holding title to some three million acres which they had never ceded. On August 25, 1886, the Red Lake band ceded to the government two million acres, the land to be surveyed and appraised as timbered or farmed with right of occupancy and with certain civilizing benefits and advantages from government sale of timber. The Nelson Act of 1889 provided that the Indians take up allotments on their own reserve and open the remainder to sale as farm or timber land, the former for a dollar an acre, the latter to the highest bidder. The allotment plan did not meet with the Indians' favor. The Indians would have nothing but a tract held in common about Red Lake and west. In 1902 they ceded again an area of 256,152 acres for encroaching settlers. The government acted as trustee over lands, to sell and pay proceeds into the treasury for the Red Lake Chippewa. Sales realized about \$1,265,000.

With the receipt of large annual payments and the expectation of more, the Red Lake Indians have not taken up farming on a large scale. In 1916 the Red Lake Indian Forest was established and fifty thousand acres of it were cleared at one swoop. Of 12,990 Chippewa in Minnesota in June, 1928, only eight per cent were full bloods; of the Red Lake band, twenty-five per cent were full bloods. Three-fourths of the Chippewa are off reservations. "Although the Chippewa will assuredly lose their existence as a distinct race and will be absorbed in the enveloping white population, no early date can be fixed for the consummation of that absorption."³⁴

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³⁴ Folwell, *Minnesota*, 4: 325 (St. Paul, 1930).

A NEW ENGLANDER IN THE WEST

LETTERS OF EBEN WELD, 1845-50

The writer of the following letters, Eben Weld, was one of those hardy pioneers who moved westward with the advancing frontier. He was born at Cornish, New Hampshire, on January 4, 1815, the fourth of the six sons of Daniel and Lydia Fuller Weld. In the early forties Weld emigrated to the Minnesota country, and there he remained until 1850, trading with the Indians, acting as farmer for the Sioux at Kaposia, and becoming "completely wed[d]ed to a frontier life." In 1848 he bought from Charles Mousseau a claim at what is now Dayton's Bluff, St. Paul,¹ but two years later he sold his farm and left Minnesota to go to "Oregon Territory via California." The changes that he witnessed during his residence on the upper Mississippi he describes in a letter from Oak Point, Oregon:

[In] Minnesota from three to five years ago I witnessed the Savages in their fights, and saw scalps torn from each other dripping with blood and midnight dances or (waxepi) and myself the only pale face to write their History. But now 'Tis wonderous Strange. How great the Change. The frontier is no longer here, the ax the plow and the *Hammer* have become mighty Elements of the Pioneers of Minnesota[,] while the original proprietors of the soil are fast giving back and to[o] frequently falling victims to the viscious habits of many of the Whites — it is nearly one year since I sold my farm at Saint Paul Minnisota[,] which is probably ere this covered with buildings, and no doubt has some what increased in value.²

Weld was much pleased with his new location on the

¹ J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul*, 88 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4). Weld is mentioned as a possible representative in the territorial legislature from Pig's Eye, below Dayton's Bluff, in a letter from David Lambert to Henry H. Sibley, June 4, 1849. Sibley Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

² Eben Weld to Martin Weld, February 15, 1851, Weld Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Columbia River. "The Star of Empire shines no farther west," he writes, "but Shines so bril[li]ant here that all nations are comming here to worship." In several letters written in the early fifties he pictures enthusiastically his life in Oregon, and in one he describes himself as a "Pioneer in two Territorys." His career was brought to an abrupt close on June 5, 1857, when a skiff in which he was crossing the Columbia upset and he was drowned.³

Copies of the three letters published herewith were furnished, with information about the writer and the Weld family and some explanatory notes, by Miss Mildred Weld of Indianapolis, a grandniece of Eben Weld. The originals of these letters, of three written from Oregon, and of one relating to Weld's death, which were among the papers of Miss Weld's grandfather, have been received by the Minnesota Historical Society from her cousin, Miss Gladys Irene Weld of Montpelier, Vermont.

EBEN WELD TO TIMOTHY P. FULLER, January 18, 1845

[Weld Papers — A. L. S.]

FORT SNELLING January 18th 1845

DEAR SIR

It is a long time since I have written to you, and much longer since receiving a letter from you, in fact I dont recol[lect] of receiving a letter from you in all my life! I feel very anxious to hear from you and Aunt also my Farther and Mother I fear there is some that have left this World for another since I saw them last. My health is very good at present I have allways boasted of good health untill last Spring when on my way from New Orleans was taken with Chills and feaver but have since out grown them. Chills and feaver are not known much in this part of the North West, it being about the same latitude of your place, but much more temperate in the Winter. we have not snow enough for good s[ki]eding it is going on five years since I first came to this Country and never experienced such cold and severe Winters as in Vermont[,] no noth-

³ Eben Weld to Martin Weld, August 6, 1851; Alex. C. Anderson to Charles S. Weld, May 6, 1858, Weld Papers.

ing like it taking every thing into consideration this is the most advantageous Country I ever lived in the soil cant be beat for Wheat and potatoes and of all kinds of vegetables. Wild fruit is plenty of all kinds[,] Plumbs and Apples in abundance, Strawberry[r]ies and blu[e]ber[r]ies are allso plenty in their time. When I first visited this wild Count[r]y I had a small capital of four hundred dollars worth of Indian Goods of which I sold out at Indian payments allso collected furs &c. afterwards got Government contracts at the Forts allso Indian farming and am now about finishing a Contract of three hundred and fifty Cords of Wood at three dollars per Cord, a hundred Cord per Month, which has kept me pretty busy some times employing from twelve to fifteen halfbreeds and Frenchmen[,] as Yankees are scarce in this part of the World there is a set of people that are emigrating here from the Selkirk Settlement on Red River who are english or Scotch half breeds who are very good to work[,] but the French are no better than Indians lazy and a treacherous people who live on un[w]hol[e]som[e] food[,] now and then make a Dog feast and *talk large*.⁴ This Fort is to be built over a new another season and I shall stand a good chance to get more Contracts I have a valuable Claim at the falls of St Anthony the finest Water privilege in all the west.⁵ was I not afraid of loosing it I should of made you a visit long ago but am in hopes to make improvements enough upon it this Spring to secure it for one year or more so that I can see old Granite and the Greene Mountains once more. a short time since was talking with an old Englishman who was engaged in the last war with the Indians — against the Americans — concerning Polk. the old man took the trouble to enquire where I hail[e]d from I told him from the old Granite State the old man openly declaired there was more knowledge and virtue in the five New England States than all the rest of the World put together and that he seldom saw an individual but could read and wright who came from there to make the matter short,

⁴ In the early forties of the last century many French settlers — retired traders and voyageurs — were living in the vicinity of Fort Snelling and the present site of St. Paul. There, also, were to be found groups of emigrants from the Red River settlements near the Canadian border. William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 213-220 (St. Paul, 1921).

⁵ The city of Minneapolis, with its important lumber and flour mills, developed around these falls.

the old Man lost his bet on the election and I won a fine suit of Buckskin and a fine pair of Boots and a Poney if it had not fell through the ice and drown[ed] I wish I had some of those Canadian Horses there is none in these parts they would bring a great price here. our horses come mostly from Missouri on St[eam] Boats and are of a delicate nature not fit for this Climate I am expecting to visit you next Spring perhaps in the month of June without fail Please remember me to Aunt and those who have not forgotten me Please direct to St Peters — Fort Snelling I[owa] Ty.*
Believe me Truly

EBEN WELD

TIMOTHY P. FULLER

[Addressed:] HON. TIMOTHY P. FULLER, CABOT, VERMONT

[Postmark] FORT SNELLING, Jan 21

EBEN WELD TO MARTIN WELD, February 10, 1846

[Weld Papers — A. L. S.]

FORT SNELLING IOWA TERRITORY Feb 10th 1846

BROTHER MARTIN

I cannot well delay a longer silence it is certain that I am in your debt or that you are in mine for a letter. I am living so remote from a Post office that it is difficult to send or to receive letter[s] the latest information from the Green Hills was better than a year ago. it was from Uncle Francis and wife who informed me of *forty* things, and one thing was that you had taken a wife, no doubt for the better ⁷ I wish I could say the same But pale faces are scarce in this part of the Country I am living in an Indian Village of Siouxs fifteen miles from the Fort Snelling ⁸ have been living four years among the natives generally as a Trader and an *Indian* talking and writeing the Darkota or Sioux Language. So in writing to you, you will please excuse my awkwardness in writing This is a very large band of

* The district around the mouth of the Minnesota or St. Peter's River was known as St. Peter's. The portion of Minnesota west of the Mississippi that includes Fort Snelling was part of Iowa Territory from 1838 to 1846, when Iowa was admitted as a state. Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 486-489; Marcus L. Hansen, *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, 32 (Iowa City, Iowa, 1918).

⁷ Francis Fuller was Weld's maternal uncle. This letter is addressed to Martin Weld, who married Immogene L. George in 1844.

⁸ The village was Kaposia, on the present site of South St. Paul. Little Crow was chief of the Kaposia band.

Sioux and I am the only white person at the Village so I have to talk with the Indians or to myself, a *man* of better sense. for two years I have been instructing the natives in Agriculture I was appointed by the Indian department as Farmer agreeable to the Treaty of 1837 providing Farmers and Blacksmiths to the several different Bands with Salerys of Six Hundred Dollars each an[n]ually to be paid Quarterly for the Term of Twenty Years Houses and implements are furnished by Government⁹ I have a large two Story House and am the only occupant while it is sor[r]ounded with *Icewxteas-tipis* or Sioux Houses.¹⁰ I am any thing but being lonesome But I think if I had one of those pale faces down east for a partner I could live in a better stile and wear a white shirt occas[s]ionally now and then cut a pie of the Pumpkin kind: But Plague on those Pies and nick nacks they are enough to kill an Ostrich or a Dog after ones been living on Buffaloe meat and Venison without salt or spice Fort Snelling is about the same Latitude of your place But a vast deal of difference in the climate and Health of the two places the months of May June and the fore part of July we have a considerable of rain. the remaining part of the year is uniform and pleasant we have no north *easters* there has been no snow here yet this winter hardly to whiten the ground moderate freezing by night[,] thawy sunshiny days now and then a fire starts in the tall grass in the

⁹ As a farmer for the St. Peter's agency receiving a salary of six hundred dollars a year Weld appears in the lists of *Persons Employed in the Indian Department* for 1846-47 and 1847-48. See 29 Congress, 2 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 36, p. 3 (serial 499); and 30 Congress, 1 session, *House Executive Documents*, no. 26, p. 5 (serial 516). Although Weld states that he had served for two years, his contract as farmer was not approved until July 21, 1845, according to a letter of that date from T. H. Crawford to John Chambers, in the Indian Office Letterbooks, 36:495. Weld seems to have retained this position until sometime in 1848 or early in 1849, when, according to his own statement, he "was discharged as farmer." See Weld to Sibley, January 31, 1849, in the Sibley Papers. For the article in the treaty of 1837 relating to farmers for the Sioux, see Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws, and Treaties*, 2:494 (Washington, 1904).

¹⁰ On the night of July 27, 1848, Henry Lewis, an artist who was visiting the Minnesota country and sketching in the Mississippi Valley, stopped at Little Crow's village. In his diary he records: "we accepted the hospitality of Mr Weld for which we paid dearly afterwards and got a pretty good nights rest in his house." The Minnesota Historical Society has a typed copy of the Lewis Diary. The tent of skins used by the Sioux as a lodging was commonly known as a tipi.

Bottoms and little Prairies while some spring creek stops its further progress untill some native stops to light his pipe and sets fire in a new place to gaze on the raging flames and half suffocated verminths it is very dry and pleasant Oct weather no sudden changes no cases of consumption the people die with old age and in Batt[le] with the Chippeways¹¹ I have witnessed a number [of] scalp dances and dog feastes and medicin[e] dances there has been some talk here on the Frontier about the Red Coats going into the *scalp trade* as formerly, about Orregon But I doubt the Speculation¹² I have not time to do you justice nor myself on this small sheet of Paper How is all the folks. Please inform me where Charles is[,] Moses and Daniel[,] and [whe]ther Farther and Mother yet live. Be sure [*manuscript torn*] write me the particulars. How does Uncle Tim get a long. when you see him give him my best respects tell him I shall make him a visit next fall if the Chief [*Little Crow*] will let me the Indians have become so attached to me they refuse to let me leave them and are very anxious that I should take the Chiefs daughter for a wife. I received a letter from Brother Fuller last July stateing that he had lately been married in Nauvoo¹³ But did not inform me whether she was one of the Spiritual ones or of another kind She was very impertinent to enquire through him how many papposes I had and wives. give my best Respects to your wife and to all who have not forgot me

EBEN WELD

[P. S.] Please write soon and direct to Fort Snelling Iowa now, and then a news paper would relish well

EBEN WELD

MARTIN WELD ESQ^r

[Addressed] MR MARTIN WELD, GROTON, VERMONT

[Postmark] FORT SNELLING, Februry 11.

¹¹ The Sioux of southern Minnesota and the Chippewa of the north were hereditary enemies, and battles between the members of these tribes were common. In 1842 a battle took place near Kaposia, and, as late as 1853, after Minnesota Territory was organized, a skirmish occurred on the streets of its capital city, St. Paul. Willoughby M. Babcock, "Sioux versus Chippewa," *ante*, 6: 41-45.

¹² The treaty with Great Britain by which the boundary between Oregon and Canada was fixed at the forty-ninth parallel was ratified in June, 1846. A few months earlier, when Weld was writing, the cry of "Fifty-four-forty or fight" was ringing through the land.

¹³ The reference is to Dr. John Fuller Weld, who was living in the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo.

EBEN WELD TO MARTIN WELD, April 21, 1850

[Weld Papers — A. L. S.]

April 21st 1850

DEAR BROTHER

I am now on board of a steamer (Western World) and shall arrive at New Orleans this evening and leave — tomorrow the 22nd inst in the Steam Ship Allabama for Charges on my way to Oregon Territory *via* California I left Minnesota on the 8th and have so far made a very quick passage Martin in attempting to write you I find I am so many years behind the times I hardly know where to commence. Well in the first place my health is good never better. But you had better believe it is very hot here just now and that I have met with a serious change in the climate 13 days ago I crossed Lake pippin [*Pepin*] 40 miles on the ice and here it is hot enough to roast Niggers I call^d at Nauvoo while the Boat was exchangeing passengers to enquire of B^r Fuller and no wone could inform me of his whereabouts the place appears to have change^d its inhabitants and the Temple and most of the City is in ruins ¹⁴ I stoped only two hours in Sa[i]nt Louis and expect to stop just about as long in Orleans. we have a veriety of passengers on to day a duel took place to day on the Hury Cane Deck of the Boat one badly wounded travelers to and from California loaded down with Gold and heav[i]er with revolvers & Bowe Knives the River is so rough and windy that it is very dificult to write I will write you a gain from Panama or the isthmus. and allso at Francisco

May 23^d Steam Ship Columbus being about to stop for water & Coal at Acapulco [Mexico] I take this moment to finish what has been begun on the Mississippi River I left Orleans on the first of May arrived at Panama on the 15th inst and bought me a premium Ticket for \$350.00 some sold as high as \$500.00 But a great many could not buy any at all two thousand are still a waiting for other vesels and many are sick with the Panama fever Some have been obliged to remain for eight weeks who purchased their Tickets

¹⁴ The Latter Day Saints under Joseph Smith established a settlement at Nauvoo on the Mississippi in 1839. In 1846, as a result of the "Mormon War," they left Illinois and migrated westward to Salt Lake. The elaborate Mormon Temple erected at Nauvoo was burned in 1848. Theodore C. Pease, *The Story of Illinois*, 186-189 (Chicago, 1925); Theodore Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois*, 956 (Chicago, 1880).

in New York, through to Francisco But it is better to buy a ticket in Panama than to be detained on account of the irregular meeting of the line of Vessels But I am considered one of the lucky passengers not to be detained at this miserable filthy place of *Hell*. But I am in no wise discouraged I see a plenty of it every day I mean the *Dust* Boxed up & bound for the States

if nothing happens this ship will arrive at Francisco in eight days from this which will make me a passage of a bout 8 thousand miles in a bout forty sailing days this ship left New York 15th of March — by around the Horn and arrived at Panama in 85 days and on the same day I arrived from Minnesota So I shall be able to enter the mines of Gold with the dry season

I shall mail this at Acapulco Mexico half way from Panama to Francisco and hope I shall be on Land when I write a gain.

Please direct me to Sacramento City California ¹⁸

Yours Affectly

E. WELD

M. WELD

Martin I would be more explicit in writing this time but circumstances will not permit I left Minnesota for the purpose of making you a visit, and to get me a *Wife* But the current of the Mississippi was to[o] strong towards the Gulf Stream and here I am on the Mexican Pacific Coast bound for *Dust*. Martin will you write on the receipt of this and give me a History of friends and relatives. I will in return give you a correct statement of the El dorado of California — without exaggeration.

E. WELD

M. WELD

¹⁸ Weld could not have remained long in California, for in February, 1851, he wrote from Oregon: "I was very fortunate in making my location claim here the fore part of the summer." He evidently expected to return to California after staking his claim, but he did not go because he "anticipated cholera" and heard "unfavorable reports from the mines." Weld to Martin Weld, February 15, 1851, Weld Papers.

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION OF 1934¹

Two important Minnesota centennials are being observed this year. One is that of the arrival at Fort Snelling on May 6, 1834, of Samuel and Gideon Pond, missionaries among the Sioux Indians; and the other is that of the coming of Henry H. Sibley to Minnesota in October of the same year and the launching of his active career in this region. The Minnesota Historical Society planned its twelfth state historical tour and convention around certain special places with which the Ponds and Sibley were associated and included in the program papers and addresses setting forth their services to state and nation.

The tour was held on Saturday, June 14. Three chartered busses carried passengers from Minneapolis to the Historical Building in St. Paul, the official starting place. There, in the busses and in some twenty private cars, approximately a hundred and fifty people were ready, at 10:00 A.M., to follow a guide car furnished by the St. Paul police department to the first stopping place—the College of St. Catherine. A brief visit was made to the college chapel, where the tones of a pipe organ sounded a greeting to the visitors and where Sister Eleanor explained some points of special interest in relation to the architecture, building materials, and decorations of this very beautiful hall of worship.

Fifty or more people joined the tour at the college campus, from which the motorcade proceeded to the grounds of old Fort Snelling. There an even larger number fell in with the tourists, and more than three hundred persons

¹ This account of the annual tour and convention of the Minnesota Historical Society is based upon a report drawn up by Miss Gertrude Ackermann, the society's manuscript assistant. *Ed.*

thronged the Fort Snelling chapel for the first convention session. At the very heart of Minnesota settlement through a century, President William W. Cutler opened proceedings by introducing the present commandant, General David L. Stone. After welcoming the visitors to the fort, General Stone made a vigorous plea for the introduction of readable narratives of pioneer history into the schools. Children, he urged, should be encouraged to learn about their pioneer ancestors, whose story is epic in its record of bravery and fortitude.

Mr. Cutler then sketched briefly the early historical backgrounds of Minnesota and called upon Professor Edgar B. Wesley of the University of Minnesota for a paper on "The Army and the Westward Movement of the Frontier." Professor Wesley pointed out that the westward movement was sponsored and guided by the government, which provided an army to protect and aid the pioneer settlers. The army surveyed rivers and lakes, built roads, spanned streams with bridges, erected forts, protected mail routes, guarded government stores, regulated hunters and trappers, and generally enforced law and order. Its diverse and exacting duties were made the more difficult because the frontier of settlement was never a regular, always a shifting, line. Military posts were built and, when the advance of settlers caught up with the army, abandoned. The speaker made it clear, however, that the forts were more than military centers. They were also nuclei for industrial and cultural pioneering. Typical of the American frontier posts was Fort Snelling, erected in 1819 as one part of a government plan that had among its objectives the enlargement of the settled area, the extension of the fur trade, and the counteracting of British influence among the Indians.

With this background, the audience was ready for "The Story of Old Fort Snelling," which was told vigorously and interestingly by Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of

the society's museum and manager of the annual tour. He first traced the origins of the fort, which, he said, is "indissolubly linked with the history of Minnesota and the Northwest." After telling of the Pike expedition, he discussed the situation after the War of 1812 and then described the coming of Leavenworth and his troops and the actual beginnings of the fort. The speaker included a detailed account of the buildings of old Fort Snelling and traced the history of the establishment down to recent times. He brought out the fact that Fort Snelling figures prominently in the early agricultural history of Minnesota. "Colonel Leavenworth," he said, "had begun active farming operations early in the spring of 1820, and by midsummer ninety acres were under cultivation in cereal grains, Indian corn, potatoes, and vegetables." The acreage was increased to 210 by 1823, and "farming operations were carried on steadily during most of the period prior to the Civil War." Mr. Babcock related that "soldiers carried the monthly mail to and from Prairie du Chien by canoe in summer and on foot in the winter."

A charming personal touch was added to the audience's picture of pioneer Fort Snelling by the next speaker, Miss Mary J. Newson of St. Paul, who read a reminiscent paper entitled "A Child's Life at Fort Snelling." Miss Newson's father was Thomas McLean Newson, who in 1854 became editor and owner of the *St. Paul Daily Times*. He served as a captain in the commissary department during the Civil War and was brevetted major at its close. For a time after the Sioux Outbreak he was stationed at St. Cloud and at Fort Ripley, but for most of the period up to the end of the war he was commissary at Fort Snelling. Miss Newson drew a sharply etched picture of the fort and its buildings, recalling the grounds as a "great sunny out-door playroom." One scene after another she described as her memory played over the period: a bitter typhoid epidemic, the soldiers' drill, dress parades, the lowering of the fort

flag at sunset gun, and military discipline. She recalled a boy in blue who marched up and down the main walks with his arms and head thrust through openings in a barrel bearing the caption "I Was Drunk Last Night." Other scenes included the punishment of Indians after the Sioux War, a party held when the new commissary warehouse had been completed, the sorrow occasioned by Civil War losses, the death of Lincoln, the return of the soldiers. As Miss Newson considered the changes wrought by time she exclaimed, "No more do wagons and buggies and carriages and carts rock and slip dangerously down a steep dirt and stony road on one precipitous bluff to be ferried leisurely over the Mississippi, and climb laboriously with panting horses the winding way on the other side to the gates. No more do red men in red blankets come, single file, to barter furs at the sutler's store or complain of unjust agents to the 'White Fathers.' No more do men in blue with the soldier's visor present arms or deploy over the green that stretches out under the shade of elm trees now more than a half century old." The speaker was given an ovation as she reached the end of this delightful paper.

Before adjournment of the session, the audience gave a rising vote of thanks to General Stone and his aides for the courtesies and hospitalities shown the visitors by the officers of the fort. It then divided into two groups to visit the round and hexagonal towers, the only structures that have survived the original fort. The smooth and speedy drive across the modern concrete bridge spanning the wide and picturesque Minnesota Valley contrasted sharply with the laborious crossings typical of an earlier day. The view from the Mendota side disclosed clearly the strategic location of Fort Snelling as commanding the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, water routes important to Indians and white men alike.

After a luncheon at the Sibley Tea House attended by more than two hundred and sixty people, the time was all

too short for a thoroughly satisfying ramble through the stone house built by Sibley in 1835 and preserved as an historical museum by the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution. As the weather was warm and pleasant, the visitors gathered on the Sibley House lawn under shady willow trees for the next session, Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul presiding. He introduced Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, vice president of the Minnesota Historical Society, as a man who had diligently advanced the society's interests through many years. Mr. Gale, speaking in the shadow of the famous mansion, delighted the audience by suggesting that he would act as a medium for General Sibley himself, who thus would tell his own story. He then read, in Sibley's own words, the story of the events of a century ago that had their setting within the sound of the speaker's voice.

Mrs. Carl T. Thayer then extended greetings from the Daughters of the American Revolution, of which she is state regent. Mrs. Thayer spoke especially of the basic importance of historical research. She expressed appreciation of the aid and coöperation given by the historical society in connection with the marking of historic spots and the planning of radio programs on Minnesota history, and she particularly praised the services to her organization of Mr. Babcock.

Mr. Ingersoll next introduced Mother Antonia, president of the College of St. Catherine. Her paper on "The Old Convent School at Mendota," it was explained, would be read for her by Sister Helen Angela. It dealt with a boarding and day school conducted in the Sibley House from 1867 to 1878 by the Sisters of St. Joseph. The school was attended by the children of the surrounding country and by some of the Sioux Indian children who lived in tipis back of Mendota. The decreasing population of the community led to its discontinuance.

Shortly after 3:00 P.M. the long parade of busses and

automobiles left Mendota, recrossed the bridge, and drove up the Minnesota Valley, which is rich with memories of the adventures of Le Sueur, the first white traveler to ascend the river, of the exploits of Jonathan Carver, and of the host of red men and white who ascended this stream in days gone by. The next session was held in the auditorium of the Shakopee High School. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society, presided. The first speaker was Mr. Everett E. Edwards of the United States department of agriculture, who is well known for his bibliographical contributions, especially in the field of American agricultural history. His paper, on "American Indian Contributions to Civilization," published in the present number of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, was a comprehensive survey, rich in concrete detail and convincing in its claims of influence credited to the Indian.

The chairman then introduced Miss Gertrude B. Gove of Windom, a high-school teacher of history, who read a paper entitled "Exploring Local History." "All who like history, puzzles, and family trees; all who like to know the 'Why' of things; all who feel that the past has something worth remembering and handing down to future generations," should be fascinated by the game of exploring local history, Miss Gove suggested. In launching such exploration, she advised the reading of pioneer letters and other contemporary records. She told of her own studies of the work of the county commissioners of a given county, which called for investigation of the minutes of board meetings, newspaper files, and letters written by county officials in private hands or in the historical society, and also involved interviews with pioneer board members or their descendants. Exploring without recording its results she considered of relatively little value. Hence she urged local history students to write up what they have discovered and to file their manuscripts in some library for future reference. The chairman pointed out that the exploration of local his-

tory almost invariably results in the discovery of new materials such as letters and diaries and in the recording of reminiscences that give vivid pictures of the past.

The Reverend Mathias Savs of Shakopee, speaking on "The Historical Backgrounds of the Shakopee Region," then welcomed the visitors to Shakopee and asserted that early explorers considered the region between Mendota and Shakopee as the garden spot of Minnesota. The town of Shakopee, he explained, was named for the Indian chief whose village of about three hundred Indians was formerly located about two miles from its site. Father Savs gave a brief history of the churches and business enterprises of Shakopee and the places of special historical interest in the neighborhood, particularly the Faribault House. Before the meeting adjourned, the chairman introduced the Honorable Samuel R. Van Sant to the audience, which rose and applauded the former governor, pioneer steamboat captain, and lumberman, who notwithstanding his four score and ten years had braved the heat and exertion of the day's tour.

The tourists now started for Minneapolis, but made a detour in order to visit the log cabin built in 1847 by Oliver Faribault, a pioneer fur-trader. Many in the party, like pioneer travelers, quaffed water from the famous Faribault spring, which is situated at the bottom of a little ravine, near which the foundations of the house used by Samuel Pond as a mission station are still visible.

The tour then led to Lake Harriet in Minneapolis, where the Ponds ministered to the Indians in the thirties. On the shores of this lake the tourists ate a picnic supper, from which they were summoned to the band stand by the martial music of the Third Infantry Band from Fort Snelling. About two thousand people gathered on benches in front of the band stand and listened to the "Pond Centennial Program" that followed. It was arranged by the Hennepin County Historical Committee, of which Mr. Gale was chairman. Chief Chibiabos in a colorful native costume sang

several Indian songs and then introduced Professor George A. Pond of the University of Minnesota, a grandson of Samuel Pond. A similar greeting between a red man and his white brothers took place a hundred years ago, Professor Pond reminded the audience, when Chief Cloudman of the Lake Calhoun band of Sioux greeted the two Pond brothers, the first white men to take up their residence within the area of the present city of Minneapolis. Professor Pond as a representative of an association of descendants of these two men then introduced Dr. Blegen, whose address was an appraisal of the contributions of the Pond brothers. It appears in full elsewhere in the present issue of the magazine.

Dr. Clair E. Ames of Minneapolis then spoke briefly on the religious motive of the Pond brothers, pointing out that, firm in the belief that God had sent them to be missionaries to the Sioux, they were not deterred by the difficulty of learning the Indian language, their faith never failed, and their courage never faltered. In tribute to the Pond brothers and their contributions to the state of Minnesota, a shower of roses was scattered by an airplane flying over the audience while the band played the national anthem. This impressive scene concluded the convention.

Though a large number of persons living outside the Twin Cities attended the tour and convention, the majority came from that vicinity. The places that were visited—Fort Snelling, Mendota, Shakopee, and Lake Harriet—were probably familiar to them, but as the *St. Paul Dispatch* editor suggested, the "peripatetic history class" did much to "invest them with renewed interest and recall more intensely the significance that surrounds these neighborhood historic shrines."

THE RADISSON PROBLEM

The recent articles in MINNESOTA HISTORY on "The Radisson Problem" have renewed my interest in the subject and I submit the following contribution chiefly in answer to the article by Miss Nute, which appears in the issue for September, 1932 (*ante*, 13:255-267).

The fundamental problem, as I conceive it, is to interpret correctly Radisson's language, and it may be considered under the following heads: (1) Where was the "first landing Isle?" (2) When did the Mississippi voyage take place? (3) How long was the Mississippi voyage?¹ The identification of the first landing isle is hardly a problem, it seems to me, in view of Radisson's own language.

When the voyageurs arrived at the landing isle they found it inhabited by Hurons and Ottawa who had been driven west by the Iroquois in 1649-50. Turning to the Mississippi narrative where the expedition is just ready to start back to Canada, we read: "*Yee women gett your husbands' bundles ready. . . . We embarked ourselves. We weare in number about 500, all stout men.*" Since "above 800 men" had gathered at the council we see that the *wives* and some of the men remained at the landing isle.²

In the narrative of the Superior voyage where the party arrived at Chequamegon Bay, the Hurons and Ottawa told Radisson and Groseilliers "that wee had 5 great dayes'

¹ For the sake of clarity and convenience, the following terminology is used in this article: "Mississippi voyage" for the "Auxoticiat" or first western voyage; "Superior voyage" for the second western voyage; and "unwritten voyage" for the voyage of two unnamed Frenchmen mentioned in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 42: 219-223 (Cleveland, 1899).

² *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684*, 160, 162 (Boston, 1885). The italics in quotations throughout are the author's.

journeys before we should arrive where their *wives* weare," but that "they could not well tell where to finde their wives, fearing least the *Nadoneceronons* [*Sioux*] had warrs against their nation and forced them from their *appointed place*." The Hurons and Ottawa were sent on to search for their wives and twelve days later they returned with news that they had found them.³ Thereupon the entire party proceeded to this Huron village, now generally believed to have been on Lac Court Oreille in northern Wisconsin.⁴

Turning now to Radisson's contemporary, Nicolas Perrot, we learn that the fugitive Hurons and Ottawa, who had been driven westward by the Iroquois, had been cordially received by the Sioux, who offered them an abiding place in their country. Perrot writes: "The Ottawas decided finally to choose the island named Pelée [*Bald or Prairie Island*] for their settlement [*Radisson's "appointed place"*], where they were some years in peace. They there received often the visits of the Sioux." Later the Hurons and Ottawa became arrogant and aggressive because of their possession of firearms, but the Sioux, by reason of a great preponderance of numbers, expelled them from Prairie Island, driving them eastward as far as Lac Court Oreille and the headwaters of the Black River. In Perrot's words: "The continual raids which the Sioux made upon them obliged them to flee. They had acquaintance with a river which we call the Black river; they entered it, and, having arrived where it takes its source, the Hurons there found a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Ottawas pushed farther, and marched to lake Superior, and fixed their abode at Chequamegon."⁵

³ Radisson, *Voyages*, 194-198.

⁴ Warren Upham, "Groseilliers and Radisson, the First White Men in Minnesota, 1655-56, and 1549-60, and Their Discovery of the Upper Mississippi River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 486.

⁵ Quoted by Upham, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 524, 525.

A reasonable construction of the foregoing extracts leads me to the conclusion that the "wives" found by Radisson at Lac Court Oreille were the same "women" who were left at the landing isle on the previous voyage, and that they had been driven from the landing isle to this place by the Sioux. Perrot names Isle Pelee as the island from which these Lac Court Oreille Indians were driven by the Sioux. Therefore Radisson's "first landing Isle" must be identical with Perrot's "Isle Pelee," or Prairie Island, situated in the Mississippi between Hastings and Red Wing.

Miss Nute construes the phrase the "first landing Isle" to mean "the island of first landing, or where we first landed" and adds the dictum, "than which nothing could be simpler or plainer." Is it not more probable, since the explorers were traveling on a river, that Radisson referred to an island in this river on this immediate journey of a few days, rather than to an island elsewhere, upon which he and Groseilliers had "first" landed early in the voyage nearly a year and a half before? There are many islands just below Prairie Island.

Miss Nute assumes that the voyageurs had been at the landing isle before, since they were "well received *again*." An equally plausible interpretation is that they were well received *as usual*. These men were well received everywhere. They were feasted, toasted, banqueted, entertained, well nigh worshipped, and even adopted, so, of course, they were well received again when they reached the landing isle.⁶ Miss Nute also infers that "the trip on the river lasted for eight days, showing that the stream was probably relatively small." Why this inference? Why not relatively large? Indians can travel a long way in canoes in eight days *downstream*, especially when in "haste."

Reasoning from the interpretation above, Miss Nute concludes that this landing isle "becomes either an island at

*The writer believes that they had been there earlier on the unwritten voyage of 1654-56.

the mouth of Green Bay, or the Island of Michilimackinac"—more likely the latter. If her interpretation is to be accepted, we should identify this island as Grand Manitoulin rather than as Mackinac Island. Radisson says: "After we travelled many dayes [*almost entirely around Georgian bay*] we arrived att a *large* island where we found their [*the Ottawa's*] village, their wives & children." Manitoulin Island is ninety miles long and is known to have been the country of the Ottawa.⁷ Mackinac island is only two by three miles in extent. Surely Radisson would not have referred to Mackinac as a "large" island.

Radisson says: "We went *up* y^t river 8 dayes" and "came to the first landing Isle."⁸ It is of course impossible to travel *up* any stream and arrive at Mackinac or any other island in the Great Lakes. To obviate this objection Miss Nute assumes that Radisson meant "down," a construction inadmissible unless forced by the context or by external fact. Miss Nute says this river "may have been any one of those numerous streams of the country lying between Lake Superior and Green Bay." The voyageurs arrived at this riverside on "racketts," or snowshoes, which would seem to imply that the season of the year was late winter or early spring. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the small rivers of northern Wisconsin and Michigan would then be frozen over, since the snow usually melts on the land before the ice goes out of the rivers. Does travel in canoes for eight days on a river under such conditions seem probable? The Mississippi is usually open all winter below Prairie Island.

A few pertinent questions at this point may help to clarify our problem: Did the Sioux ever occupy Mackinac Island? Did the Sioux ever drive Hurons and Ottawa or any other enemies out of Mackinac Island? Did the Sioux pursue the

⁷ Radisson, *Voyages*, 146; Louise P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, 43, n. 2 (New York, 1917).

⁸ Radisson, *Voyages*, 157.

Hurons and Ottawa farther than Lac Court Oreille or Chequamegon Bay? Perrot writes that "The Sioux, seeing their enemies departed, dwelt in peace without pursuing them farther."⁹ When the voyageurs and their Huron and Ottawa Indians came to the Sault de Ste. Marie on the Superior voyage, why did they pass within only forty miles of Mackinac Island, which was well-known to them, if it was the "first landing Isle" where the Indians had left their wives, and go on four hundred miles to Chequamegon Bay before observing that it was "5 great dayes' journey" overland to where their wives were? A glance at a map of the Great Lakes, noting their proximity to Mackinac Island and the distance to Chequamegon Bay, will effectively disclose the error of the Mackinac theory.

Radisson states that Groseilliers' sickness "proceeded onely of a long stay in a new discovered country."¹⁰ Was Mackinac Island a new discovered country? Reymbault and Jogues were there as early as 1641 and the Jesuits well knew the place.¹¹ Groseilliers, who was for several years a lay helper to the Jesuit fathers, doubtless knew about this country of the Ottawa, and had probably been there before. At the point in the narrative where the voyageurs started back from the landing isle, Radisson writes: "We came to the South. We now goe back to the north." If they were at Mackinac Island, why would they first go south and then north—especially when they were in a hurry to get home? A little farther on he says: "We passed the lake without dangers" and "Att last we are out of those lakes."¹² What were those lakes, if they started from Mackinac Island? After leaving Prairie Island the explorers and the Indians went south on the Mississippi and north on the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. The lake passed "without dangers" was

⁹ Upham, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10:525.

¹⁰ Radisson, *Voyages*, 158.

¹¹ Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, 23.

¹² Radisson, *Voyages*, 162.

Green Bay. The sentence "Att last we are out of those lakes" suggests a long, tedious voyage through a plurality of lakes. All this evidence points to the improbability that Mackinac Island was the "first landing Isle" of Radisson's Mississippi voyage.

The second phase of the Radisson problem—when was the Mississippi voyage made—has been the real problem since Radisson's narrative was published nearly fifty years ago.¹³ From the context of the narrative, it can be shown that the voyage commenced in 1658 and ended in 1660. By turning to the last five pages of the Superior voyage, we find that the year following Radisson and Groseilliers' return from this voyage they attempted to go to Hudson Bay, but failed because their captain became frightened by icebergs and turned back.¹⁴ The year following this event they made another attempt to reach Hudson Bay, but were again frustrated by the loss of one of their boats in a storm on the Isle of Sand, or Sable Island. Following this disaster, which was in the *second year* after the return from the Superior voyage, the explorers went to Boston. There they met four British commissioners who had come over to adjust matters relating to the transfer of New Holland to England, and they sailed to England with them. This was in 1665.¹⁵ Therefore the Superior voyage must have ended two years earlier, or in 1663. Since this was a two-year voyage, it began in 1661. One year "att rest" elapsed between the Mississippi and Superior voyages, thus the former must have ended in 1660, and being a two-year voyage, it commenced in 1658. In further corroboration, Radisson says that he and Groseilliers arrived in London at the time of the great plague, which was in 1665. He also says that they attempted to go to Hudson Bay the *next year*, but that

¹³ Upham, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 568-594.

¹⁴ Radisson, *Voyages*, 240-245.

¹⁵ Josephus N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 4: 2382 (Springfield, 1901).

the Thames "was stopped" by the Dutch. This was in 1666.¹⁶

Further proof that the Superior voyage occurred in 1661-63 is to be found in Radisson's text. In the account of the Superior voyage, we learn that Radisson and Groseilliers had trouble with the governor just before they left, and that on their return, two years later, they had trouble with *the same* governor, who was just then *retiring from office* and returning to France.¹⁷ Now the Superior voyage of two years occurred either during 1658-60 or 1661-63. These are the periods in controversy. If Radisson and Groseilliers left in 1658 their first trouble was with D'Argenson, who became governor in that year, and when they returned two years later in 1660 their trouble would again be with D'Argenson. His term, however, was not expiring in 1660. He continued as governor for another year. If the explorers left in 1661, however, their first trouble was with D'Avaugour, who assumed office as governor at that time, and on their return in 1663 their trouble would be with the same governor, D'Avaugour, whose term of office was then expiring. The public records of Canada show that D'Argenson's term was from 1658 to 1661, and that of D'Avaugour, from 1661 to 1663.¹⁸ Therefore the Superior voyage, which was contemporaneous with the official term of Governor D'Avaugour, must have taken place during the years 1661-63. By calculating back as before, it appears that the Mississippi voyage must have occurred during the years 1658-60.

Again, we find evidence on the dates of the Superior and Mississippi voyages in the oft-quoted excerpt from the *Jesuit Relation* of 1660, referring to the large, wide, deep, and beautiful river, comparable to the St. Lawrence.¹⁹

¹⁶ Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 3: 2081, 2333.

¹⁷ Radisson, *Voyages*, 174, 240.

¹⁸ François J. Audet, *Canadian Historical Dates and Events, 1492-1915*, 32 (Ottawa, 1917).

¹⁹ *Jesuit Relations*, 45: 233.

The Jesuit writer learned from two Frenchmen that they saw on their journey a tribe composed of the remnants of the *Hurons who had fled from the Iroquois*. Radisson also found these fugitive Hurons while on the Mississippi voyage. Since Lalemant wrote in 1660, and the two Frenchmen "had but just arrived," it follows that he refers to the Mississippi voyage, admittedly of two years, which must have taken place, therefore, from 1658 to 1660.

Further data in support of this view are found in Radisson's journal. As Radisson and Groseilliers were preparing to leave Chequamegon Bay early in the Superior voyage, "there came above foure hundred persons to see us goe away from that place, w^{ch} admired more our action [than] the fools of Paris to see enter their King and y^e Infanta of Spain, his spouse." The marriage of Louis XIV to Maria Theresa, the Spanish infanta, occurred in June, 1660, and the "entry" took place in the August following.²⁰ Had the Superior voyage been made between 1658 and 1660, Radisson would not have been reminded of this episode, which occurred nearly two years later. A few pages farther on, Radisson describes the arrival of the Sioux "wth an incredible pomp. This *made me thinke* of y^e Intrace y^t y^e Polanders did in Paris." This is doubtless another reference to the same European episode, which must have taken place *before Radisson thought of it*.²¹

The third problem—how long was the Mississippi voyage—is psychological rather than historical. There is no controversy as to its actual length. The question is, why did Radisson believe and say that this voyage lasted three years?²² Historic facts and the context of his narrative fix the time at two years. A theory recently advanced by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg on this point is based on the similarity of two accounts of an Indian battle. One of

²⁰ Radisson, *Voyages*, 198; Benjamin E. and Charlotte M. Martin, *Stones of Paris*, 2: 236 (New York, 1899).

²¹ Radisson, *Voyages*, 211.

²² Radisson, *Voyages*, 134, 148, 170.

these is found near the beginning of Radisson's account of the Mississippi voyage and the other in the *Jesuit Relation* of 1656.²³ The battle described in the *Relation* occurred on May 30, 1656, and Dr. Kellogg concludes, from the "precisely similar adventures," that Radisson was with the expedition then starting west. She states her theory as follows:

Groseilliers went west in 1654 with a nameless companion, and upon his return to the colony with the fleet of 1656 he induced his young brother-in-law to go back to the western country for another year. Radisson, in relating his western adventures, speaks of both his own one year and Groseilliers' three years as if they had been together all the time.²⁴

The events in the two battle accounts are set forth in the following parallel columns:

Radisson, <i>Voyages</i>	<i>Jesuit Relation</i>
SIMILARITIES	
Indians made noise with new guns	Indians made noise with new guns
A lone Iroquois gave warning of ambush	"It was even said" that a lone Iroquois gave warning of ambush (hearsay)
Escaped by means of a ruse (?)	Escaped by means of a ruse
DISSIMILARITIES	
Personnel: Radisson and Groseilliers, two Jesuit fathers, twenty-nine other Frenchmen, "seaven score" Indians	Personnel: Two Jesuit fathers, one lay brother, three French missionaries, thirty other Frenchmen, two hundred and fifty Hurons and Algonquians
Expedition started from Three Rivers	Expedition started from Quebec
Left "in the night"	Left "in the morning"
Left Montreal "without noise of Gun"	"The last Farewell resounded from the cannons' mouths"
Battle fought at Long Sault, in the Ottawa forty miles above Montreal	Battle fought in the St. Lawrence below Montreal at Point Repentigny ²⁵
Entire personnel participated in the battle	The "30 Other Frenchmen" abandoned the trip at Three Rivers and returned to Quebec, thus taking no part in the battle

²³ Radisson, *Voyages*, 134-142; *Jesuit Relations*, 42: 225-233.

²⁴ Louise P. Kellogg, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 106-108 (Madison, 1925).

²⁵ F. J. Audet to Arthur T. Adams, May 13, 1925. This letter is in the possession of the author.

No French casualties
After the battle all the Frenchmen
except Radisson and Groseilliers
returned to Quebec
No official warning was received

After the battle the French and
Indians escaped stealthily in the
darkness "to the sound of a low
trumpet"

Radisson and Groseilliers went
west with the Indians

One Jesuit, Father Gareau, killed
After the battle all five remaining
Frenchmen returned to Quebec

Warned of ambushade by two
French soldiers sent by the gov-
ernor of Three Rivers

After the battle the French and
Indians escaped in the darkness
amid the din caused by pounding
trees with hatchets in pretense
of building a fort

No Frenchman went west with the
Indians

Should a verification of the above parallel fail to convince the reader of the error of Miss Kellogg's theory, almost conclusive proof may be found in the family record of Groseilliers. If he and Radisson were in the expedition recorded in the *Relation* of 1656, they must have started west prior to May 30, the date of the battle, but the christening of one of Groseilliers' children on August 7, 1657, would presume that he was at home in the early part of November, 1656.²⁸

While approving the "well-established facts" upon which Miss Kellogg's theory is based, Miss Nute proposes "another possible explanation" which seems to me equally improbable. She introduces her theory by quoting Radisson's title to the Mississippi voyage and she correctly observes that this title describes more accurately the Superior voyage. Then follows this rather doubtful deduction: "That trip [*the Superior voyage*] probably lasted two years. Thus together the two trips may have been considered to have lasted three years." Near the close of the account of

²⁸ Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, 1: 129 (Montreal, 1871). Nearly all encyclopedias, biographical dictionaries, and other authorities that treat of Catholic native-born Canadians, regard the date of baptism as equivalent to the date of birth. In referring to the children of Groseilliers, Benjamin Sulte writes: "Every child was christened on the day of his birth, or the next day. That was a strict rule of the Church." "The Sulte Studies," in Jacob V. Brower, *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi*, 6: 75 (St. Paul, 1903).

the Mississippi voyage, Radisson says: "We stayed at home att rest y^e year."²⁷ Thus, according to Miss Nute's theory, a period of five years occupied by two distinct and divergent voyages of two years each and separated by one year of inactivity at home, is treated as a "unit" and construed to mean a single, continuous voyage of three years.

My own theory regarding this perplexing problem may be stated as follows: Radisson and Groseilliers made both the unwritten and the Mississippi voyages, and Radisson's narrative is a *composite* record of the two. The evidence supporting this theory, both internal and external, is too abundant to make an adequate discussion of it possible in this article.

In closing, reference should be made to the four months' hunting journey of Radisson.²⁸ Miss Nute and other writers regard this as a "recapitulation" of the Mississippi voyage—a view, I believe, wholly untenable. A recapitulation ought to show some relation to the journey it recapitulates. Upon this point there is a *total want of identity*. The hunting story is largely *hearsay*, a fact clearly gathered from the context. A recapitulation would hardly contain this element. Furthermore, why would Radisson insert this recapitulation in the middle of his description of an Indian battle?

This phase of the subject, including the transpositions of the hunting story and the Dollard massacre story, which occurs near the end of the account of the Superior voyage, is fully considered in an article entitled "A New Interpretation of the Voyages of Radisson," published in MINNESOTA HISTORY for December, 1925 (*ante*, 6:317-329). The reader is referred to this article and urged to make it a part of this discussion of the Radisson problem.

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²⁷ Nute, *ante*, 13: 256, 257; Radisson, *Voyages*, 172.

²⁸ Radisson, *Voyages*, 167-169.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865 (A History of American Life, vol. 7). By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE, professor of history, Western Reserve University. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1934. xv, 468 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

In *The Irrepressible Conflict* Professor Cole has produced another of those volumes of *American Life* which attempt to depict the life of a people in its multifarious aspects without recourse to "history" as it has so long been viewed. Needless to remark, as has been said in most of the reviews of the volumes which have previously appeared, this is a difficult task. No one can appreciate "history," the reconstruction of the past, by reading alone; he must bring a generous measure of imagination to the task and fill in from his own experience the gaps necessarily left in any narrative. Without this individual contribution of the reader the strongest efforts of the historian fail to effect their purpose. If, however, the author provides sufficient stimulus, paints enough of the background, the task of reconstruction is simplified and the reader can be carried along, reliving another period with a minimum of personal endeavor.

The test, then, of an example of the "new history's" success lies in whether the author has brought to the reader enough of descriptive detail to make reconstruction simple—practically unconscious or subconscious—and yet has abstained from dragging in so much material that the reader becomes bogged. To a considerable degree *The Irrepressible Conflict* meets the test. It does not require an undue amount of contribution by the reader to feel himself back in the days when the clash of two economic systems was hovering near, nor to get something of what life must have meant to those who lived through the Civil War.

As yet no one of the contributors to this series has succeeded wholly in weaving the story into a continuous whole; all of the narratives have been episodic—some more and some less. Mr. Cole's volume, I should say, is one of the less episodic because he does achieve a degree of integration and his transitions are relatively easy. One does not have the feeling that here are separate chapters any one of

which could stand alone without the rest as a fairly complete whole. But there still remains to be done the ideal presentation — an ideal perhaps always to be hoped for but never attained.

Covering the years from 1850 to 1865, this book deals with many of the activities which made up the everyday life of a people. Some of the chapters try to take in the whole sweep of the country. The introductory chapter entitled "Prosperity and Panic" treats, as one would suspect, of the economic life of the fifties — its material advance, its shifts in mechanical methods, its speculative boom, and its crash. The extent of the country and its variety of interests, habits, modes of living, and all the rest, necessitate separate treatments of broad sections with attempts to differentiate between smaller areas in those sections. So, for example, "The Land of Chivalry" and "The South Militant" are, as the headings indicate, descriptions of Dixie, its "peculiar" institution, and the effect of that institution upon its thinking and way of living. "The Struggle for the New West" deals with the trek toward the setting sun and the conflict of North and South over its domination, while "Farm and Field" shows agricultural development progressing from the older west to the newer west of the Mississippi Valley and beyond. Immigration, education, the church, advance in "Health and Happiness" and nascent friction between labor and capital, "The Growing Pains of Society," all come in for treatment, and "Fanatic and Doughface" tells about the fast approaching crisis about to be precipitated between plantation economy, supported by sentiment if not by the intelligent self-interest of a struggling small-farmer class, and an industrial and agricultural economy of North and West.

Four chapters tell the story of life in war time. Here there has to be a pretty sharp division between the description of the North and the South since, in reality, there were two nations, impinging upon one another in nonmilitary ways, but essentially separate.

Despite the fact that the author has used discrimination in his choice of illustrative material, there is much detail and, so far as possible without too seriously interfering with the continuity of the story, he has allowed contemporaries to tell their impressions in their own words. No two writers would select the same events to bring out the picture and none could say that either was right or wrong, so, to express an opinion about some of the selections is not implying

criticism. Nevertheless one wonders why the clipper ship should be, by implication at least, ascribed alone to New England (p. 10) and why the oceanographic work of Matthew Fontaine Maury is not connected with the marvelous feats of those beautiful craft. So again, there might be raised the question why the Kansas strife is tied wholly to the slavery issue (p. 85-87) and the land issue only brought in in another connection (p. 113).

It can be understood why Illinois figures so prominently in furnishing illustrative material, but other pioneer states, like Minnesota, which gets but slight mention, or Iowa or Wisconsin, could equally well have been drawn upon. Indeed, if there is a serious lack it would seem to be in a certain neglect of the fringes of settlement, although the reader is taken by stage routes to remote parts and dips into the mining camps of the frontier. But, as I remarked, no two would use the same emphasis or call upon the same illustrations.

There are reproductions of contemporary drawings, cartoons, photographs and the like, and there is the usual excellent critical bibliography. Mr. Cole's book measures up well with the better volumes of the series.

LESTER B. SHIPPEE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics. By WILLIAM ERNEST SMITH, Ph. D., professor of American history, Miami University. In two volumes. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933. xi, 516, vi, 523 p. Illustrations. \$7.50.)

The political careers of Francis Preston Blair, Sr., and of his two sons, Montgomery Blair and Francis Preston Blair, Jr., extend over nearly fifty years of American history, and those fifty years are the eventful ones from the beginning of Jackson's administration to the end of the reconstruction era. Since the Blairs were very prominent politically and since they shifted their party affiliations and their places of residence several times during this period, any complete account of their careers must cover all parties and many sections. For that reason the author of the *Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* may, perhaps, be pardoned for making his two long volumes almost a political history of the United States during that long period,

from a Blair family viewpoint, it is true, but with an almost confusing wealth of detail.

Mr. Smith has had access to all the Blair family material, a great mass of manuscript hitherto scarcely used, and has spent many years in research. His book is the first real attempt to place the activities of the Blairs against a complete background of the events of their period, and the result is illuminating, not only as a picture of the Blair family, but as a discussion of the perplexing decisions everyone interested in politics must have faced in the years when the slavery question complicated every issue. The Blairs were Jacksonian Democrats, followed Van Buren and Benton in opposition to Calhoun, and became in turn Free Soilers, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and Republicans. After the Civil War they were anti-radical advisors of Andrew Johnson, and they swung back into the Democratic party with the failure to create a new party in 1866.

Since the Blair family came from Kentucky to Washington and the second generation settled in Missouri in the forties, both East and West were the scenes of their political efforts. Perhaps the most interesting part of Mr. Smith's work is the great light thrown on Missouri politics immediately before and during the Civil War period by the study of the political career of Francis Preston Blair, Jr. Only occasionally are there chapters of especial interest to those working in northwestern or Minnesota history. The chapter on the case of Dred Scott is valuable because it includes material from the papers of Montgomery Blair, who argued the case in the United States Supreme Court. The Blairs were extremely active in the organization of the Republican party, and Francis Preston Blair, Jr., traveled extensively in the North and the Northwest preparing the ground for the campaign of 1860. His speeches in St. Paul and in St. Anthony had such effect that they called forth a complimentary letter from Abraham Lincoln. Near Lexington, Minnesota, Blair met, for the first time, Carl Schurz, who was on the same sort of speaking tour, and they discussed western politics over a picnic lunch on the side of the road. After the return of the Blairs to the Democratic party, because of their dislike for radical reconstruction measures, Francis Preston Blair, Jr., was a vice presidential candidate in 1868, placed on the ticket to secure western votes. So the history of the family is identified with that of the West in many ways.

The format of the book is excellent. The author's research has been extensive and the mass of new information is large. One feels at times that his years of concentration upon the Blairs has led him to overestimate their importance in American politics, and that the amount of detail has caused difficulty of organization and lack of clarity in style. There is a long and well-organized, although uncritical, bibliography, and far too brief an index. The work will, I am sure, be of great and lasting value to the student of the period in which the Blairs lived.

Alice F. Tyler

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work (Harvard Economic Studies, vol. 42). By PAUL WALLACE GATES, assistant professor of history, Bucknell University. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1934. xiii, 374 p. Illustrations, maps. \$4.00.)

First and last, the history of American railways has received a good deal of attention from students of history and economics. In the main, however, writers upon the subject have been content with an exploration of federal and state documents, the commercial and financial periodicals, and the printed reports of the railways themselves. That the companies, sometimes by design, more often, perhaps, by accident, had extensive archives awaiting investigation seems not to have occurred to the historian. One of the chief merits of the book under review is that it represents, besides a full use of a wide variety of printed materials, the most thorough examination, perhaps, yet made of the manuscript resources of an important American railway.

While the main interest of Professor Gates is in the land policies of the Illinois Central, his work is in reality a general history of the company during its first forty years. Virtually every phase of its activity during that period has been subjected to careful scrutiny, usually with results which amply justify the author's efforts. Thus new light has been thrown upon the contest in Congress over the land grant, the struggle in Illinois in regard to the charter, and the early financial history of the road.

Throughout the book the author presents his material against a wide background. Under the caption "Constructing a Prairie Railroad," he discusses far more than the building of the Illinois Central, while his chapter on "Land Speculation" is an admirable account of speculative activity in the government lands of Illinois, which should be emulated for other states.

Since the Illinois Central was the pioneer among land-grant railways, it was naturally the first railway to face the difficult problem of formulating a policy for the administration of subsidy lands. The officials of the company could not draw upon the experience of others in this connection, for enlightened self-interest made it impossible for the land-endowed railway to be guided by the methods and practices of governments or speculative land companies. Much trial and error was necessary before an intelligent policy was evolved, but the eminently satisfactory financial results to the company, the rapid settlement of the Illinois prairie, and the widespread adoption by other railways of many of the devices and methods of the Illinois Central all abundantly attest to the success with which the company's efforts were ultimately rewarded.

The advertising campaigns of the railway, the competition for foreign immigrants, important colonies established under railway auspices, together with the encouragement of improved methods in agriculture given by President Osborn of the Illinois Central, are discussed in detail. While the reviewer is disposed to question the author's assertion as to the completeness with which this last named policy anticipated the agricultural development work of later railways, this is but a minor criticism of an excellent book, thorough, judicious, and critical, which must command the attention of every student of our economic history.

JAMES B. HEDGES

BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

The Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era. By
JOE PATTERSON SMITH. (Chicago, private edition distributed
by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1933. iii, 129 p.)

It is only of comparatively recent date that students in the United States and Canada have become particularly interested in the study

of the interrelations of these two closely associated countries of the North American continent. That this is true is most surprising, for neither the history of the United States nor that of Canada can be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the effect of the development of the one upon the other. During the past ten or fifteen years, however, students in both Canada and the United States have become more or less cognizant of this fact. Professor R. G. Trotter of Queen's University might be regarded as the initiator of this interest. In many of his writings, and probably more particularly in his lectures in American and Canadian universities, he has frequently suggested the significance of the study of the interrelations of the two nations. Dr. Smith's *Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era*, the book under review, is an excellent example of Professor Trotter's stimulation.

Republican Expansionists of the Early Reconstruction Era is a study of "curious and half-groping attempts at expansion which had as their goal the incorporation of British North America with the United States." An introduction and five chapters make up the volume. Probably the most interesting and valuable chapters in the monograph are those that treat of "Reciprocity Repeal and Canadian Annexation" and "Northward Expansion and American Politics during the Summer of 1866."

In the opinion of the reviewer the weakest chapter in the study from several points of view is the one called "'The Kingdom of Canada' and 'Manifest Destiny.'" Although the author copiously cites original sources for his statements of fact, a large measure of what he says is rather well known and in a few instances decidedly trite. Like a good many Americans writing on Canada, Dr. Smith seems to lack a perspective and an understanding of the Canadian mind and environment. Certainly the British North American attitude toward the half-groping American attempts at expansion is inadequately explained.

The author's main thesis throughout the dissertation is to prove that the annexation attempts of the sixties were largely, if not entirely, political bogey promoted by a radical minority of the Republican party, and motivated by selfish political designs. It is asserted that this group was not really interested in expansion as such, but that it "toyed with the notion . . . as a means to satisfy ends other than

that of territorial aggrandisement. As each successive step of the movement unfolded, the program adopted by the extremists was dictated by political expediency directed to the end of maintaining their political supremacy." Dr. Smith has ingeniously established his contention. But has not he carried it to an extreme? The reviewer will agree that he has the right to labor under the notion that the Republican party of the reconstruction era resorted to a multitude of ways and means to establish its supremacy in the nation; but, that every single Congressman advocating British North American acquisition in the sixties was not really interested in expansion but was urging it merely as political bogey to further the political fortunes of himself and of his party is simply an overstatement of the truth.

The present reviewer has examined nearly all the major sources that Professor Smith has used. In a good many of these sources there is sufficient evidence for one to draw conclusions, if he so desired, directly opposed to those presented in the *Republican Expansionists of the Reconstruction Era*. In so doing, however, he would err as much as Dr. Smith. The conclusion is that Dr. Smith has not really succeeded in proving that the expansion attempts of the sixties were merely propaganda dictated by a minority group of the Republican party to maintain its political supremacy.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA
GRAND FORKS

The Phantom Emperor. By NEIL H. SWANSON. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1934. 391 p. \$2.50.)

The author of the *Phantom Emperor* is apparently one of those who hold that history, if well presented, has more appeal for the multitude than pure fiction — that few of us can resist the appeal of "it actually happened." Both his new novel and his *Judas Tree* are stirring tales based on historic events. Since both won the seal of popular approval by remaining for long periods of time on the lists of best sellers for the entire country, it is obvious that Mr. Swanson knows the psychology of American readers.

One must not be misled by the phrase "based on historic events." The writer of historical novels, so long as he does no violence to the spirit of history, is always at liberty to mold his historic data into

shapes that the scientific historian would hardly recognize. Accordingly, the reader of this book need not look for too close a resemblance in figure and character between General James Dickson of history and General Philip Dufresne, the phantom emperor. To be sure, both styled themselves "emperor"; both led bizarre expeditions over the Great Lakes and across northern Minnesota; both had the faculty of commanding the allegiance of ill-assorted companies of men; and both were indisputably courageous. But James Dickson, the man, remains far within the shadows of history; whereas Philip Dufresne stands out clearly in this volume, his past life, his child, his purpose, indeed his very French accent, freely disclosed. History has produced as yet no record of Guerdon Warrener or of the emperor's daughter, though they are outstanding figures in this book. A woman in Northwest history *suggested* Maurine Dufresne to the author, but there the resemblance ends, as, perforce it must, for reputable women, except missionaries, were not found in the fur country visited by the expedition of 1836 and 1837.

Even the villain of the story, Angus Mac Clung, has no real counterpart in history. The presence of the half-breed son of "Emperor" Kenneth Mackenzie in Dickson's party would appear to have suggested the character of the métis, Mac Clung, to Mr. Swanson. It is only in the matter of Mac Clung and his band of half-breeds that historians have good reason to censure the author for violating the spirit of history. These métis are made to typify their class, and the reader is led to believe that half-breeds as a group were snakes in the grass. Mr. Swanson would have made a stronger novel, as well as a more authentically historical one, if he had represented Mac Clung and his cohorts as individuals — villains, if villains there must be in the story — and not as examples of half-breeds. The more one studies the biographies of the half-breeds of American and Canadian history, the profounder becomes one's respect for them. Where can one find more heroism, for example, than in the career of Pierre Bottineau, the half-breed who saved the remnant of Dickson's party from a blizzard on the Dakota plains?

In other respects, however, the book gives an excellent idea of life in many parts of the United States in the thirties. And while adhering to the language, customs, and dress of the period, the author has managed to make his characters so vivid and their speech so interesting

that few readers will lay down the book before finishing it. Some will find it tinged with melodrama; but those must remember that the actual participants in Dickson's expedition saw themselves as heroes, their cause as unquestionable, the enemy as wholly reprehensible, and the future as rosy and certain. One has only to read the diary of the man who made this story known to the world, Martin McLeod, to perceive the melodrama in his views. This diary, preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society and published in its quarterly, has been utilized freely by Mr. Swanson, and his manner of using it is made clear in his foreword and conclusion.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

Trials of a Lawyer: Autobiography. By JAMES MANAHAN. ([St. Paul, privately printed, 1933.] 248 p. Illustrations.)

This autobiography, which was completed shortly before the author's death, will recall to Minnesotans the outspoken, courageous crusader — a veritable gadfly — who was known to friend and foe as "Jim" Manahan. The vigorous style and language betray what manner of man he was; but the good humor that abounds throughout the book will perpetuate the pleasant memories of friends and will soften the judgments of adversaries, who, while still beholding the mote in "Jim" Manahan's eye, will perhaps consider the beam in their own.

Manahan was born in 1866 on a farm near Chatfield, Minnesota, and, as he says, he woke up in 1896, on a hot July day, in a vacant store in Lincoln, Nebraska, when he heard the returns from the Democratic national convention, which in a frenzy of enthusiasm and indignation nominated a youthful lawyer like himself who dreamed of a civilization "sustained by happy men tilling their own soil." It was in this exciting campaign, when a picture of Bryan hung in the parlor of "every mortgaged farmstead," that Manahan was initiated into the devious ways of politicians. In 1898 he was ushered into politics as a candidate for Congress of Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, the same combination that had sponsored the candidacy of his distinguished townsman; but his Congressional aspirations were not realized until 1912, when, curiously enough, this

outspoken Bryan Democrat was elected Congressman at large from Minnesota on the Republican ticket. When the progressive Republican Congressman arrived in Washington, one of the first calls he made was on Secretary of State Bryan, who with a broad, boyish grin said: "We never dreamed in Lincoln that we would be here, together, in high office, did we Jim?"

After his "dabble" in politics in 1898, Manahan resumed his law practice. In 1904 he returned to Minnesota, where for a generation before the bar, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and legislative and railway committees and commissions he was the champion of causes initiated by the Farmers' Alliance and furthered by the Non-partisan League, of which he was a prominent organizer and leader. This militant organization ran afoul of the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety; and Manahan was classed with Townley, Lindbergh, and Gilbert as a traitor to his country. His part in the street railway strike brought his indictment by a St. Paul grand jury, the chairman of which was secretary to the president of a railway company and the father of a high official in the St. Paul Street Railway Company. A fearless judge, however, brushed aside the influence of the war hysteria in the court room and dismissed the indictment. But the irrepressible "Jim" was to have another experience with mob psychology. As counsel for Joseph Gilbert at Lakefield, he was hustled toward the river, when, in his own words, he heard his "lying tongue" say: "'I have no use for those damn socialists.' Like Peter, I cursed. I denied my client and the truth. I cursed. My cowardice and betrayal caught the sympathy of that cowardly mob. . . . Thrice I lied that night. I said I didn't mean it."

One does not have to believe that "Jim" Manahan was always right to find relish in his pages. The reader will not only find interesting incidents and important events pertaining to the investigation of the railways, the Pullman Company, express companies, and the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, to the reliability of newspapers, and to the fate of the Equity Coöperative Exchange, but he will make intimate acquaintance with such interesting characters as Woodrow Wilson, William J. Bryan, John P. Altgeld, George Fred Williams, Champ Clark, Robert M. La Follette, Ignatius Donnelly, George Loftus, A. C. Townley, and Richard T. O'Connor. John A. Johnson, the state idol, fares badly at the hands of Manahan. He is pic-

tured as a "lovable and tactful man" surrounded by a "strong phalanx of seasoned politicians" maintaining close contact with the Hill railroad machine, "which reached the front door of Wall Street and the back door of Tammany Hall, without disturbing the obviously sound strategy of posing Johnson as a reformer in sympathy with the struggling masses." This was the attitude of the idealistic Bryan Democrats in Minnesota, like John Lind, who in 1908 refused to desert their "peerless leader" in behalf of a favorite son.

Right or wrong, "Jim" Manahan's story is worth reading by the critical as well as the uncritical reader, who should be grateful to Kathryn Manahan, his daughter, for seeing it through the press.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Dr. Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of manuscripts, has left for England and France to carry on her studies for a joint biography of Radisson and Groseilliers, a project for which she was granted a fellowship by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation of New York. Her book will be awaited with keen interest by those who have followed the Radisson controversy and by students everywhere who recognize in the two Frenchmen historical figures of international significance.

More than a hundred million years ago Minnesota was covered by a vast sea, according to geologists. Terrific volcanic action forced up through the waters huge masses of molten rock, which solidified into the granitic foundation rocks of the state. Starting with this remote period, the geological story of the state has been traced in broad outline in an exhibit which has recently been installed in the society's museum by Mr. and Mrs. Donald K. Lewis of Red Wing. The exhibit depicts the record that the rocks have made of the earth's growth. Step by step the geological changes that have occurred in Minnesota can be followed in that record, which reveals how the rocks have been broken down by water, erosion, and glaciation, and built up again in new forms. The exhibit shows graphically these processes by the use of ingenious colored plaques and specimens of various types of rocks.

Considerable progress has been made recently by the society in revising and expanding its bibliography of Minnesota newspapers, a project that has been under way for a number of years. The value of this bibliography will be greatly increased by an accompanying inventory of existing files of the newspapers listed, an inventory that will take into account not only the files now in the possession of the state historical society but also those preserved in newspaper offices, in public libraries and other institutions, and by private individuals. In this connection the society recently addressed letters to the editors of all Minnesota newspapers requesting information about files of

papers in their offices. In this letter it was pointed out that the information would be utilized not only for the society's own bibliography, but also for a "Union List of American Newspapers since 1820" which is being prepared under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America. The response to the society's inquiry has been most generous, and some newspapers have taken occasion to give hearty editorial indorsement to the project as a whole. The following lines are from an editorial in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of August 16:

It is a project which is deserving of the closest co-operation of newspaper publishers throughout the state. The contemplated bibliography will be a useful tool of reference to all concerned. The importance of newspapers as an historical source is universally recognized. The hometown paper functions as the diary of the community it serves. Historians, however, would not be the only persons benefiting by a guide to the location of Minnesota newspaper files. Such information as the society is now gathering would be of use also to lawyers, ministers, business men, real estate dealers, educators, and many others who find frequent occasion to consult back numbers of local journals.

Minnesota has just rounded out its seventy-fifth year of statehood and should now be well equipped with the essential materials of state reference. It is high time, therefore, that Minnesota had a definitive bibliography of its journalistic publications.

Twenty-one additions have been made to the active membership of the society since April 1. The names of these new members, grouped by counties, follow:

HENNEPIN: Ralph D. Brown, Mrs. John E. Bushnell, Mrs. D. M. Cooper, Alvin R. Ewing, Ruby Karstad, Mrs. Frank G. McMillan, George H. Rogers, G. Hubert Smith, and Harold R. Ward of Minneapolis; Mrs. Richard P. Gale of Mound; and William H. M. Adams of Robbinsdale.

MOWER: Freda M. Boen of Grand Meadow.

RAMSEY: Pierce Atwater, Dr. Edwin B. Daugherty, Chester A. Dossdall, Dr. Edgar T. Herrmann, Mrs. Alex L. Janes, Mrs. James Manahan, and William W. Marvin, all of St. Paul.

STEVENS: Dr. A. I. Arneson of Morris.

WASHINGTON: Marjorie Edgar of Marine.

The Thursday Club of St. Paul has become an institutional member of the society.

The society lost ten active members by death during the three months ending June 30: Carl E. Van Cleve of Minneapolis, April

17; Mrs. William C. Whitney of Minneapolis, May 5; George W. Gardner of St. Paul, May 14; Bernard Zimmermann of St. Paul, May 14; Jacob C. Pope of Mora, May 16; Cass Gilbert of New York, May 17; Dr. Hugh C. Arey of Excelsior, May 20; Edward P. Sanborn of St. Paul, May 29; Henry C. Drake of St. Paul, June 4; and John P. Upham of St. Paul, June 10. The death of George C. Lay of St. Paul on January 30 has not been reported previously in the magazine.

Miss Jerabek's study of the Czech settlement at Silver Lake, which appeared in the March issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY under the title "The Transition of a New-World Bohemia," is reprinted in installments in the *Hennepin County Review* of Hopkins from April 26 to May 10, and in the *New Prague Times* from May 10 to 24.

Mr. Babcock attended the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, which was held in Toronto from May 30 to June 1. Before the history section on May 30 he presented a paper entitled "Analyzing a Picture Collection" in which he described the subject catalogue that is being made for the pictures, other than portraits, that are preserved by the society.

The superintendent spoke at meetings looking toward the organization of county historical societies at Stillwater on April 11 and at Anoka on June 28; he gave a lecture on "Minnesota Agitators and Apostles" to the biography class of the general college at the University of Minnesota on May 24; and he talked on the "Lure of Minnesota History" before the Men's Club of Faith Lutheran Church of St. Paul on June 14. The curator of manuscripts spoke on "Radisson and Groseilliers" before the Zonta Club of St. Paul on April 10; on "Pioneer Women" before the Women's Club of Hancock on April 21; on the voyageur before the Business and Professional Women's Club of the Park Baptist Church of St. Paul on April 23; and on "Wilderness Marthas" before the mother's section of the Faculty Women's Club of the University of Minnesota on May 16. The curator of the museum presented talks entitled "An Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" on April 13 at the Young Men's Christian Association of Minneapolis and on April 16 before the St. Paul Civic League; he described the activities of the society for the Thursday Study Club of St. Paul on April 19; and he

spoke on old Fort Snelling at the dedication of a marker erected by the Colonial chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on the shores of the Lake of the Isles on April 28, on "Community Memory" before the Rainbow Veterans Association of Minneapolis on May 2, on the Minnesota Indians before the Knife and Fork Club of St. Paul on May 11, on "Pageantry in Minnesota" before members of the Northwestern Minnesota Historical Association meeting in Minneapolis on May 28, on the "Contributions of the Pond Brothers to the Building of Minnesota" at a Pond centennial celebration held at Bloomington on June 16, and on "Visualizing Minnesota" at Douglas Lodge in Itasca State Park on June 30. Mr. Babcock also spoke at a meeting held at Marshall on June 14 which resulted in the organization of the Lyon County Historical Society.

The Monument chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Minneapolis, as a memorial to the late Mrs. Marshall Coolidge, has set aside a sum of money for the purchase of genealogical works for the society's collection. The first volume purchased by the chapter is a *Genealogy of the Descendants of Joseph Bartlett of Newton, Mass. for Seven Generations*, compiled by Aldis E. Hibner (Rutland, Vermont, 1934).

ACCESSIONS

Two letters written at Michilimackinac and Prairie du Chien in 1816 by Litle Wiley while he was engaged in a fur-trading journey have been photographed for the society from the originals in the possession of Mr. Richard R. Sackett of Minneapolis. "I am now bound for the head waters of the Mississippi about five hundred miles above the falls of S' Anthony," he writes on September 8, 1816, "with a boat load of Indian goods for the purpose of trading" with the Sioux and the Chippewa. Transcripts of two additional Wiley letters written in 1815 and 1818 and relating to his trading activities also have been received from Mr. Sackett.

The appointment of Amos J. Bruce as Indian agent at St. Peter's in 1840 to succeed Major Lawrence Taliaferro is the subject of some of the letters received by the Indian office between 1838 and 1840, calendar cards for which have been secured recently from Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent in Washington for a group of

historical agencies. Other matters of Minnesota interest touched upon in this group of papers are smallpox among the Sioux and the Mandans, the Methodist mission on Elk River, the Faribault Island claim, the half-breed reservation on Lake Pepin, and an investigation into Henry R. Schoolcraft's conduct as superintendent of Indian affairs in Michigan.

Five letters written by Burleigh Smart from Kennebunk, Maine, between 1840 and 1845 are among some eighty items which have been added by his grandson, Mr. Henry B. Wenzell of Stillwater, to the Wenzell Papers already in the possession of the society (see *ante*, 13: 428). Mr. Wenzell also has turned over to the society nine notebooks which he kept during a European trip from 1876 to 1878.

A typed copy of a letter written by David Dale Owen from Stillwater on September 14, 1847, regarding the geological survey of the Minnesota region that was being made under his direction, has been presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Caroline Dale Snedeker of Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. The original is among the writer's papers in the possession of the Owen family.

A wealth of material on pioneer life in the St. Croix Valley from 1848 to 1898 is to be found in twenty-five volumes of the papers of William Willim of Stillwater, which have been presented by his son-in-law, Mr. George S. Millard of Waterloo, Iowa. Many details relating to Willim's business activities as a plasterer, contractor, and the owner of a lime kiln and a brick yard are included. Among the well-known pioneers mentioned in the papers are Anson Northup, William T. Boutwell, Franklin Steele, and William and Daniel Stanchfield. An inventory of the estate of John Columbus of Vasa is contained in one volume. One of the most interesting items in the collection is the citizenship paper granted to Willim, a native of England, on June 18, 1847, by the district court of St. Croix County, Wisconsin Territory, and signed by Joseph R. Brown as clerk.

Three additional letters of Eben Weld, the trader and government farmer among the Sioux whose Minnesota letters appear elsewhere in this number of the magazine, have been received from Miss Gladys Weld of Montpelier, Vermont (see *ante*, p. 222). Although these letters were written in Oregon in the fifties, they include occasional

references to Minnesota. A fourth letter written in 1858 by Alexander C. Anderson relates to Weld's death.

Information on land in Dakota County that was bought and sold by Henry H. Sibley and Alexander Faribault between 1854 and 1877 is contained in some twenty-eight items from the archives of the Dakota County register of deeds, which have been copied for the society on film slides. A deed by which Sibley transferred some of his Mendota property to Bishop Thomas Grace of the Catholic diocese of St. Paul on September 28, 1868; and a decree of the probate court on June 27, 1892, relative to Sibley's estate are included.

The diaries kept by Ignatius Donnelly from 1855 to 1900 have been deposited with the society by his widow, Mrs. Henry L. Woltman of St. Paul. With these diaries Mrs. Woltman has turned over various notebooks kept by Donnelly, a memorandum book containing his description of his Minnesota visit of 1856, campaign and other political records, private accounts, a day book for the *Anti-Monopolist* covering the year 1876 and part of 1877, and a large mass of correspondence. The Donnelly diaries are being edited for publication by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society.

A scrapbook of clippings collected by Francis B. Sweet in New York in 1855 and 1856 and three similar volumes of clippings assembled while he was living in Minneapolis from 1865 to 1868 have been received from his son, Mr. Frank Sweet of San Antonio, Texas. The later books consist for the most part of articles relating to events in Minneapolis, and many of them were written by the elder Sweet, who was connected with several Twin City papers as editor or reporter.

A French and German composition book used by J. A. and Carrie L. Porter while attending school at St. Peter between 1856 and 1859 has been received from Mr. Warren H. Biggs of Williamston, North Carolina. The volume also contains a caricature of "Mr. Bristol, the singing master."

Pioneer conditions in the Minnesota Valley are described in a letter written by Jay T. Wakefield on July 17, 1857, from "17 Miles South of Fort Ridgeley & 250 miles up the Minnesota River from St. Paul on the extreme border of Civilization," which has been

copied for the society from the original in the possession of Mr. H. K. Boyd of Monango, North Dakota.

Sixty-eight volumes of business accounts of the lumbering firm of Walker, Judd, and Veazie of Marine for the years from 1857 to 1898 are the gift of Mr. R. E. Strand of Marine. Among the interesting and valuable items of information to be gleaned from these records are the names of the company's employees, the prices that they paid for articles purchased at a store maintained by the company, the amount of their wages, the quantity of lumber scaled and sold, and the rates charged for transporting passengers and freight on St. Croix and Mississippi River steamboats in which the company owned an interest. Surveyors' reports and plats and material about the laying out of roads and cart ways in the vicinity of Marine between 1882 and 1890 are to be found in a volume of proceedings of the local board of supervisors, which accompanies this gift.

Four circulars relating to a controversy over the location of the county seat of Freeborn County around 1857 have been photographed for the society from the originals in the county auditor's office at Albert Lea. One of them advocates that Itasca be made the county seat, and predicts that this town, which has long since passed out of existence, "is destined to become a large, flourishing inland town, as it lies on the main thoroughfare thro' the county." A later circular announces that the proprietors of Fairfield and Itasca have withdrawn their towns in favor of Bancroft in order to oppose a coalition between Albert Lea and Shell Rock City. The circulars were called to the society's attention as a consequence of the survey of local archives in Freeborn County last spring under the CWA.

Methodism in Minnesota, the effects of the panic of 1857, steamboating on the Mississippi, a flood on the St. Croix, a fire at Carleton College, and visits to St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Lake Minnetonka are among the topics touched upon in items recently transcribed for the society from files for the years from 1859 to 1880 of the *Boston Daily Traveller*, the *Zion's Herald*, the *Advance*, the *Christian Register*, and the *Independent*, all in the Congregational Library in Boston.

About ninety letters written between 1861 and 1866 by the Reverend George S. Biscoe, a home missionary for the Congregational

church at Cottage Grove, have been presented by his daughter, Miss Lucy W. Biscoe of Grafton, Massachusetts. Material on church activities in Minnesota, on the plans for a college later known as Carleton, on pioneer life in Washington County, on early agriculture in the region, on settlers of the vicinity, and on the feeling against the Sioux after the uprising of 1862 is to be found in these interesting papers. In one letter Biscoe describes a reception given by Ramsey at his home after his election as senator in 1863; in another he tells of a meeting called at Cottage Grove to consider the Civil War draft. Miss Biscoe also has presented three letters written by her grandfather, T. C. Biscoe, in 1860 during a visit to Minnesota.

Silas L. Heywood's commissions and discharge papers as a lieutenant in the Second New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War and muster rolls of the same regiment have been presented by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Charles T. Heywood of Minneapolis. She has also presented a revolver of the Civil War type which belonged to Heywood.

"A Sioux Woman's Account of the Uprising in Minnesota" is contained in an interview with Good Star Woman recorded and presented to the society by Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing, the well-known student of Indian life and lore. The causes of the outbreak and the manner in which the friendly Sioux were treated after the Indian war are recalled by Good Star Woman, who was eight years old in 1862.

The Minnesota department of the Grand Army of the Republic has added to its archives the records of Acker post number 21 of St. Paul and a volume of sketches, compiled by George Benz in 1890, of the Civil War services of Garfield post number 8 of St. Paul. The Acker post records, which cover the years from 1870 to 1918, consist of two volumes of registers of deceased members and a filing box of correspondence, accounts, muster rolls, and miscellaneous papers.

The business enterprises conducted between 1884 and 1891 by E. Fabel, supposedly at Jordan, are reflected in an interesting account book received through the courtesy of Mr. O. O. Rekow of Chaska. Charges for merchandise and board, records of receipts for making buggy trips to various Minnesota towns, accounts as agent for a num-

ber of insurance companies, and accounts as the administrator of a will are included in the volume.

Three volumes of records of school district number 3 at Hancock in Stevens County for the years from 1877 to 1895 have been received through the courtesy of Mr. Nolan C. Kearney of Hancock, and four similar volumes for district number 11 at Windemere in Pine County covering the period from 1883 to 1903 are the gift of the district through Mr. E. S. Skog of Sturgeon Lake. The volumes include minutes of school meetings, teachers' contracts, treasurer's reports, attendance records, and the like. A few miscellaneous items of correspondence and accounts for the years 1890 to 1914 accompany the Stevens County records.

The court reporter's record of proceedings of the activities of the district court of McLeod County at Glencoe from 1880 to 1919, filling six filing boxes, have been received from Judge C. M. Tift of Glencoe. Further material on suits tried before the same court is to be found in seven boxes of legal papers accumulated by Mr. Garfield W. Brown of St. Paul between 1906 and 1920 while he was a practicing attorney at Glencoe and now presented to the society.

A term paper prepared at the University of Minnesota by Floyd Sorenson on "The Development of a Coöperative Community, Clarks Grove, 1863-1912," which includes an account of the first coöperative creamery established in Minnesota, has been made for the society through the courtesy of the author. In its preparation Mr. Sorenson utilized, among other sources, the business records of the creamery and other coöperative enterprises at Clarks Grove.

Sister Antonia, president of the college of St. Catherine, St. Paul, has presented copies of six talks on local history which were included in a series broadcast over WCCO under the auspices of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution (see *ante*, p. 127), and a copy of an address on "The Convent School at Mendota, 1867-1878," which she delivered before a meeting of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul on January 7.

A copy of an essay on Deer River entitled "The Story of a Logging Town," which was submitted by John Zetterstrom in a contest among school children sponsored by the local woman's club, has been

presented by Miss Aletha M. Herwig, formerly a teacher in the high school at Deer River.

A copy of a biographical sketch of the late Leonard A. Straight of St. Paul, which was read at a meeting of the Ramsey County Bar Association on March 31, is the gift of that organization.

A long manuscript by Frank H. Nutter on birds of the United States, and especially of Minnesota, is the gift of his son, Mr. Willard A. Nutter of Minneapolis. The manuscript was prepared during the years 1930 to 1932 and was intended for publication.

Three new volumes of mimeographed vital records have been received from the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution. They are entitled "Tombstone Records of Cemeteries in Winona County," "James Taylor Genealogy and Portland [Maine] Transcript Vital Records," and "Bibles and Wills." The tombstone records, compiled by Mabel L. Marvin, cover all cemeteries in Winona County with the exception of Woodlawn Cemetery of Winona. As a general rule the compiler gives names and years — but not month and day — of birth and death. In some instances the place of birth is indicated. Military service is ordinarily stated. In general, it would seem, however, that the tombstone inscriptions should yield a richer harvest of detailed information than is utilized in the present compilation. The usefulness of this volume is enhanced by a satisfactory index.

Many articles of Minnesota interest are to be found in a file of an early periodical known as the *Leisure Hour* for the years from 1852 to 1861, recently added to the society's library.

A little pamphlet entitled *The Flower Queen, Performed at a Grand Musical Festival at Burges' Hall on Christmas Eve, Thursday, Dec. 24, 1857, by a Juvenile Singing Class Connected with the Dakota Institute* (Hastings, Minnesota, 1857. 18 p.) is a rare and early Minnesota imprint recently acquired by the society. The text of the playlet makes up the pamphlet; on the back of the cover are the names of the youthful Minnesota pioneers who made up the "Dramatis Personæ."

Two large oil paintings of Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and Fort Armstrong at Rock Island, Illinois, and five

sketches in oil representing the falls of Minnehaha and St. Anthony, Indians fishing, Cheever's mills on the St. Croix, and some rapids in that stream, all by Henry Lewis, the St. Louis artist who visited Minnesota in 1848 while collecting material for a panorama of the Mississippi River, have been presented by the T. B. Walker Foundation through the courtesy of Mr. Hudson Walker of Minneapolis. The sketches were made in the field when Lewis visited the Minnesota country; the paintings, which are based on similar sketches, were executed around 1900 in Düsseldorf, Germany. A copy of Lewis' journal of his Minnesota journey recently was received by the society (see *ante*, p. 110).

An interesting daguerreotype of George W. Northrup and an oil portrait of Northrup and his sister have been received from Mrs. Theresa C. MacEwan of Lafayette, New York, who some months ago presented the papers of this pioneer Minnesota scout, hunter, and Indian fighter (see *ante*, p. 111). A number of articles that were used by Northrup while he lived in the Northwest, including a small leather trunk of the type that was used by travelers on stagecoaches, some saddlebags, a match box, and a cooper's hammer, also have been presented by Mrs. MacEwan.

Some recent additions to the domestic life collection are a husking peg dating from 1874, presented by Mr. Herbert B. Schwartz of Wayzata; a section of old-fashioned barbed wire fencing with a nail for fastening it, received from Mr. L. H. Wilson of Winthrop; and a fluting iron, presented by Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

A blue china vegetable dish dated 1820, a sugar bowl used in 1850, a fruit dish of the sixties, some Staffordshire ware, a coffee mill, and some dress accessories and hats have been presented by the Misses Frances and Margaret Densmore of Red Wing. They have also added to the picture collection three small views of the Benjamin Densmore home in Red Wing.

Among recent additions to the costume collection are a dress of figured poplin that was included in a trousseau of 1872 and a child's dress dating from 1875, from Miss Luella J. Brown of Los Angeles; several infant's dresses worn about 1854, from Miss Ellen Cardozo

of St. Paul; and a skirt and a petticoat of 1903, from Mrs. J. C. Rasmussen of Lake Crystal.

Oil portraits of Colonel Hans Mattson and his wife have been received from the Mattson family through the courtesy of Mr. Edgar Mattson of Minneapolis. A collection of small photographs of Civil War generals is the gift of Mrs. James T. Morris of Minneapolis; 243 Philippine views have been presented by General Charles McC. Reeve of Minnetonka Beach; and two views of the Bailly homestead in Indiana have been received from Mr. Edward Bailly of New York.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The centennial celebrations of 1934 are making the Minnesota of the days of "early candlelight" seem less remote than heretofore to many people. Sibley, the Pond brothers, and Dr. Williamson are indeed figures of the past, but we are reminded that that past extends, by countless filaments, to the living present. There can be no doubt that the celebrations of the present year are quickening interest in the events and personalities of a hundred years ago and in the development that has come about in the intervening century. They are tending to sharpen and focus the second sight, which is the gift of history. That second sight, viewing the past that binds together land and people, adds richness to individual life; gives a certain flavor and charm to the community that seeks to understand and to explain its own history; and deepens the significance of state and nation by promoting comprehension of the relation of parts to the whole.

"A List of American Periodicals and Serial Publications in the Humanities and Social Sciences" compiled by Leo F. Stock has been published by the American Council of Learned Societies in number 21 of its *Bulletins* (1934. 130 p.). Numbers 486 to 492 of the list are publications of the Minnesota Historical Society and of the University of Minnesota.

A "Roll of Overland Astorians, 1810-12," compiled by Kenneth W. Porter from "two journals of the overland expedition to Astoria, containing accounts of the debits of persons connected with the expedition for articles obtained from its commissary and credits due them for wages, skins, etc.," appears in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* for June.

The Bonga family and some of its members, of mixed Negro and Chippewa blood, who played an important part in the Minnesota fur trade of the last century are described by Kenneth W. Porter in an article on "Relations between Negroes and Indians within the Present Limits of the United States," which appears in the *Journal of Negro History* for July, 1932. Special consideration is given to the career of George Bonga, and attention is called to the fact that

"many of his letters are in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society."

Charles Larpenteur's *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri* has been reprinted by R. R. Donnelly and Sons Company of Chicago as the annual Christmas volume of the *Lakeside Classics* for 1933. It is supplied with an "Historical Introduction" by Milo M. Quaife, who calls attention to the fact that the original Larpenteur manuscript is preserved by the Minnesota Historical Society. He notes also that a comparison of the published narrative with the original discloses that Dr. Elliott Coues, who originally edited the manuscript, "pretty completely revamped the language and literary construction."

Reports written by British travelers after visiting the United States are used by Harry J. Carman in an article entitled "English Views of Middle Western Agriculture, 1850-1870," which appears in *Agricultural History* for January. English observers' astonishment over the size of middle-western farms; their "descriptions of acreage, methods, yields, and markets"; the enthusiasm which resulted in their failure, "with few exceptions, to note the dangers which confronted the Western wheat grower"; their admiration for American farm machinery; their adverse criticism of certain methods employed by American farmers; and their comments on livestock raising are noted. Sir James Caird's *Prairie Farming in America* (1859), portions of which are reprinted *ante*, 9: 137-143, is quoted extensively. The reports from the *Sessional Papers* of the British Parliament cited by the author give an inkling of the wealth of material about America to be found in these official documents. A study of "Transportation and the Livestock Industry of the Middle West to 1860" is contributed by Charles T. Leavitt to the same issue of *Agricultural History*.

A survey of "The First American Medical Journals" by Dr. John M. Armstrong of St. Paul is included in a volume of *Lectures on the History of Medicine* presented at the Mayo Foundation and various northwestern universities between 1926 and 1932 (Philadelphia, 1933. 516 p.). Files of most of the journals described are in the library of the Ramsey County Medical Society in St. Paul.

The student of middle-western transportation will find of interest and value a volume on the *Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Deep Waterway to the Sea* by Tom Ireland (New York, 1934. 223 p.). The writer states that "for practical purposes" the project will "take the Atlantic Ocean from the Strait of Belle Isle at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and place it at the waterfront of Duluth, 2,339 miles in the heart of the continent."

Decisions rendered by the United States Geographic Board between 1890 and 1932 are included in its *Sixth Report* (1933. 834 p.). The accepted form and spelling of many Minnesota place names are included.

The beginnings of the Benedictine communities in Stearns County, Minnesota, are described by the Reverend Theodore Roemer in a dissertation on the *Ludwig-Missionsverein and the Church in the United States (1838-1918)* which has been published by the Catholic University of America as volume 16 of its *Studies in American Church History* (1933. xii, 161 p.). The author points out that "It was Father Pierz who caused Bishop Cretin to invite the Benedictines to come to Minnesota and take charge of the white settlers, so that he could devote all of his time to the care of the Indians." The Benedictine foundation in Stearns County, which was established in 1856, was, according to Father Roemer, "the first . . . in what was then the far West." The writer gives some attention to the founding and growth of St. John's Abbey at Collegeville, and to the work of the Benedictines among the White Earth and Red Lake Indians after the death of Father Pierz. He also tells of the Benedictine sisters' "first foundation in the West," which was established in Stearns County in 1857.

Three letters written at La Croix in 1836 and two at Sault Ste. Marie in 1837 and 1838 form the installments for April, May, and June of the series of "Letters of Father Franz Pierz, Pioneer Missioner," which the Reverend Hugo Bren is editing for publication in *Central-Blatt and Social Justice* (see *ante*, p. 233). On May 1, 1836, after Father Pierz had been in America less than a year, he writes: "I am already quite at home among the Indians, and I lack nothing but a knowledge of their extremely difficult language, the need for which I feel more each day. . . . I have already listed sev-

eral thousand words to be mastered during my fiftieth year, some of them, shouted from your hills, would waken lengthy echoes."

A diary kept by Bishop Henry B. Whipple while traveling in the South in 1843 and 1844 is being edited for publication by Professor Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota.

An account of the "Dan-America Archives," a collection of material relating to Danish immigration and the Danes in America which is housed in a handsome building donated for the purpose at Aalborg, Denmark, is contributed by S. Waendelin to *Julegranen* for 1933. In the same publication is a brief discussion of the Kensington rune stone by Thomas P. Christensen.

The conclusions reached by Mr. Hjalmar R. Holand regarding the authenticity of the Kensington rune stone in his recent book on that subject (see *ante*, 13: 182-184) are accepted by Francis S. Betten in a brief article on "The Kensington Stone" which appears in the *Historical Bulletin* for May.

A descriptive account of "Wisconsin's Historical Manuscripts" by Alice E. Smith, curator of manuscripts for the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and formerly on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, appears in the *Wisconsin Blue Book* for 1933 (p. 1-17). Special attention is given to the priceless collection of manuscripts assembled by Lyman C. Draper, the first secretary of the Wisconsin society; and descriptions are presented of the various types of material to be found in the larger collection of manuscripts, consisting of "perhaps half a million pieces," which relates more directly to the history of the state. Of special historical interest also are sketches of "Five Wisconsin Pioneers"—Colonel Henry Dodge, James Duane Doty, William Stephen Hamilton, Hans Christian Heg, and Carl Schurz—contributed to the *Blue Book* by Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the state historical society.

What Manitowocers Read 80 Years Ago is a valuable document for the study of social and cultural history, published in pamphlet form with an explanatory introduction and a brief conclusion by Emil Baensch (Manitowoc, Wisconsin, 1933). It is a record kept from 1854 to 1856 by S. A. Wood, the Manitowoc postmaster, giving the names of subscribers and the publications that each received through

the local post office. The names of the two hundred publications that were being received and the number of subscribers to each is given in a second list. Mr. Baensch found that 1,854 papers and periodicals were received by 453 subscribers. The population of the village in 1855 was only 2,185.

Among the papers of Judge Orlando C. Howe which Professor F. I. Herriott is publishing in the *Annals of Iowa*, is "A Memory of the Minnesota Indian Massacre" by Mrs. Howe in the April issue (p. 309-311). It pictures the refugees from Springfield who fled to Spirit Lake in 1862.

A comprehensive *History of Ohio* in one substantial volume has been issued by Eugene H. Roseboom and Francis P. Weisenburger (1934. 545 p.). A comparatively small amount of space is given to exploration, the Indians, and territorial development; the growth of the modern commonwealth, however, is treated in some detail. Chapters on "Cultural Progress since 1850," on the "Progressive Movement," on "Progressivism Yields to the Martial Spirit," and on the period since the World War are worthy of special note.

A substantial section of Edwin C. Guillet's volume on *Early Life in Upper Canada* (1933. 782 p.) is devoted to "Pioneer Life," with chapters on homes, food and cooking, sugar making, fishing, co-operation and "bees," amusements, and sports. Another section carries the story of "Travel and Transportation" from the day of the canoe to that of the airplane. It includes chapters on the bateau and Durham boat, sailing vessels, steamships, trails and roads, the stagecoach, and railroads. Much material on Great Lakes transportation may be found here. Among the subjects of special interest to Minnesotans that are discussed in the volume are Alexander Henry and the fur trade, the Fenian raids, and the Riel rebellion of 1870.

The second of a series of articles on the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company by R. H. G. Leveson Gower, the company's archivist, appears in the *Beaver* for June (see *ante*, p. 231). The contents of the early minute books of the company are described in this article, and some illustrations are quoted of the "many and varied features of interest to be found" in these manuscript volumes. In the same issue of the *Beaver* is an article by Martha Munger Black on "Alexander Hunter Murray," a trader for the Hudson's Bay Company

who served at Forts Garry and Pembina and in the Rainy Lake district during the fifties of the last century. Among the illustrations that accompany this article are reproductions of drawings by Murray showing Upper Fort Garry, Fort Pierre in Dakota, and Fort Union on the Missouri.

The Geographic Board of Canada has issued a work on the *Place-Names of Manitoba*, with explanations of their meaning, origin, early use, and the like (Ottawa, 1933. 95 p.). Many names of interest in Minnesota as well as in Manitoba, such as Pembina, Red River, Roseau River, and Lake of the Woods, are included.

"Visits of 'Overlanders' of 1859 and 1862 to Fort Garry" on their way to the Fraser River gold fields are described by Colin Inkster in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for June 30. Since the routes followed by the "Overlanders," who came from eastern Canada, led through Minnesota, the article has a special interest for Minnesotans. The earlier party reached the Red River settlements by way of the well-known Red River trail in ox-drawn wagons; the later group traveled by rail to La Crosse, thence by steamboat up the Mississippi to St. Paul, by stagecoach to Georgetown on the Red River, and on the steamboat "International" to Fort Garry.

The Red River hunters are described by John Peter Turner as the "most unique and efficient hunting organization in the world" in an article on "Buffalo Days on Red River" which appears in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* for February. The author tells something of the backgrounds of the Red River settlement and its half-breed population and he describes a typical buffalo hunt. The illustrations, which include reproductions of paintings by Paul Kane and William Armstrong, are particularly noteworthy.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

Dr. Solon J. Buck has contributed to volume 13 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies, three sketches of special interest to Minnesotans. They deal with the careers of Edward D. Neill, pioneer clergyman, educator, and historian; Knute Nelson, governor and United States senator; and Rensselaer R. Nelson, pioneer jurist. The important explorations in the upper Northwest of two French-

men, Jean Nicolet and Joseph N. Nicollet, are reviewed by Louise P. Kellogg; Lester B. Shippee is the author of biographies of William Mitchell, judge, railroad president, and banker, and of Alvred B. Nettleton, publicist for Jay Cooke and the Northern Pacific Railroad and publisher from 1885 to 1890 of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The life of a leader in Minnesota education, Cyrus Northrop, second president of the University of Minnesota, is described by the late Oscar W. Firkins; and the career of a pioneer professor in the medical college of the same school, Dr. James E. Moore of Minneapolis, is reviewed by Arthur T. Mann. A Minnesotan who represented the United States in the first Hague Peace Conference, Stanford Newell, is the subject of a sketch by Irving L. Thomson. Biographies of Eric Norelius, pioneer Lutheran clergyman in Goodhue County, by J. Magnus Rohne; of Sven Oftedal, Lutheran clergyman and professor of theology in Augsburg Seminary of Minneapolis, by John O. Evjen; and of Frederick A. Noble, pastor of the House of Hope Presbyterian Church of St. Paul in the sixties, by Edward D. Eaton, also are included in the volume.

The Birth of the North Land: Important Historical Highlights in the Development of the Great Northwest consists of fifty-two brief historical sketches by Professor E. G. Cheyney, originally published separately by the Northwest Paper Company for its "weekly mailing of paper samples" and now issued in book form (Cloquet, 1933). The early narratives deal with the fur trade, the great trading companies, exploration and individual explorers, and the Indians. A more purely local interest is introduced in an account of Fort Snelling (chapter 17), which is followed by sketches of Joseph R. Brown and Henry H. Sibley, of the beginnings of St. Paul and Minneapolis, of the organization of Minnesota as a territory and a state, of the development of milling, lumbering, and iron mining, and of many similar topics. A brief account of the history of the Northwest Paper Company concludes the series. The booklet is an interesting example of the use of historical material for advertising purposes.

In accordance with a proclamation of Governor Olson designating May 20, 1934, as La Fayette Day, the centennial of the death of the French general was observed in various ways in Minnesota. A program commemorating the services of La Fayette was broad-

cast under the auspices of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts over station WCCO on May 15, and on the same day Professor Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota gave a talk over station WLB on "La Fayette's American Experiences." La Fayette programs were presented by the La Fayette Club meeting at Lake Minnetonka on May 17, at the La Fayette School of Minneapolis on May 18, and by the Alliance Française of St. Paul on May 20. The Minneapolis Public Library issued a folder listing the books on its shelves relating to La Fayette. Special La Fayette exhibits were placed on display at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

The Sibley centennial is being commemorated in the third annual pageant presented at Itasca State Park by the Minnesota conservation commission with the coöperation of the Northwestern Minnesota Historical Association. On July 1, 15, and 29, August 12 and 26, and September 2 performances depicting the development of the Minnesota country and particularly Sibley's part in that development are being staged. Among the episodes included in the pageant are scenes representing Sibley's arrival at Mendota, his marriage, his election as a delegate to Congress, Ramsey's appointment as governor of Minnesota, the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, Sibley's election as first governor of the state, incidents from the Civil and Sioux wars, and a banquet given in Sibley's honor after he had spent a half century in Minnesota. The pageant is also being presented on August 21 and 22 at Fort Ridgely.

A tablet marking the northwestern boundary of the Fort Snelling reservation as it was surveyed in 1839 was placed on the shores of the Lake of the Isles in Minneapolis and dedicated on April 28 by the Colonial chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Among the speakers were Mrs. Earl G. Nunnally, regent of the chapter, who presented the marker to the city of Minneapolis; Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society; and Lieutenant Colonel V. E. Cutrer of Fort Snelling.

Some of the results of the work done in Minnesota by the Historic American Buildings Survey, a CWA project directed by Mr. William G. Door of Minneapolis (see *ante*, p. 127), are enumerated

in a feature article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 15. The old towers at Fort Snelling, a tavern built at Faribault in 1836, the Garrard homes at Frontenac, a tower once used as a lighthouse at Duluth, the Stevens and Godfrey houses in Minneapolis, the Mattocks School in St. Paul, the library at Taylor's Falls, and the custom-house at St. Paul are among the structures included in the survey and briefly described in this article. Pictures of several of the structures illustrate the article.

That two places on the Mississippi, one in Minnesota and one in Wisconsin, were known as Reed's Landing in the early fifties is pointed out by Captain Fred A. Bill in the *Wabasha County Herald-Standard* for June 21. The Minnesota settlement, according to Captain Bill, came to be known as Read's Landing; the Wisconsin community, Trempealeau.

"Recollections of Early University Days" by Elmer E. Adams of the class of 1884, who "as a student, Regent, and legislator, has been intimately associated with the University for half a century" have been appearing in installments in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* since May 5. Intimate glimpses of campus life, personalities and procedures are presented by Mr. Adams, who was persuaded to leave his home in Vermont and attend the University of Minnesota by an uncle residing in Minneapolis. "The University was glad to get students from all over the country and inducements were made to students to come to Minnesota by offering them free tuition and low expenses," writes Mr. Adams. Evidence that students could live for very little is given by the writer in his statement about campus boarding houses. "The woman who operated the house received seventy-five cents a week from each student for doing the cooking, and each student paid one dollar a week for food." He points out that "the only charge for attending the University at that time was an incidental fee of \$5.00." Graduation, however, called for more funds, as the customary attire for a man was a Prince Albert suit. Mr. Adams relates that he and a friend "decided that money was too scarce to buy a Prince Albert and we thought we might need a swallow tail in after life, and so we bought full evening dress suits and appeared on the graduating platform for the exercises in the early forenoon."

The eightieth anniversary of the founding of Hamline University at Red Wing in 1854 was celebrated by members of the faculty, students, and alumni on May 11. Articles about the history of the school appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for May 6, the *St. Paul Dispatch* for May 7, and the *Minneapolis Journal* for May 11.

The graduation exercises which took place at St. Olaf College, Northfield, from June 2 to 5 commemorated the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the school. A number of historical exhibits were arranged in the "Old Main," the first permanent college building. The life and work of O. E. Rølvaag was illustrated in one exhibit, which included manuscripts of his writings, copies of his published books, and other items.

The early activities of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota, which was organized at St. Paul in 1860, are reviewed by E. R. Bliefernicht as a background for his *Brief History of Dr. Martin Luther College* (1934. 77 p.). In 1883, the four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth, members of the synod decided to establish a school as a "monument in honor of the great Reformer," and in the following year the college was opened at New Ulm. The story of its early years, of the changes in its program and curriculum, and of its growth is traced by the writer. Among the sources that he used in the preparation of the narrative are the reports of the Minnesota and Wisconsin synods, and minutes of the board of control and catalogues of the school.

Some Letters Pertaining to the Proposed Minnesota Synod of the Lutheran church have been translated and edited by O. Fritiof Ander and published in pamphlet form (Rock Island, Illinois, 1933. 31 p.). Most of the letters were written to Eric Norelius by such men as W. A. Passavant, C. F. Heyer, and Erland Carlsson. According to the editor they "are illustrative of the tendency of the immigrant churches to divide into smaller groups as a result of sectionalism and individual differences among the immigrant church leaders."

A "Questionnaire on Parish History" has been prepared by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul and sent to the Catholic parish clergy of the archdiocese of St. Paul. It includes inquiries not only about the organization of the parish, the building of its church, its

priests, its congregation, and the like, but about manuscript and printed historical records that it may have preserved.

Among the Minnesota churches that held anniversary celebrations during the spring and early summer was one that commemorated the completion of eighty years of service — the Elim Lutheran Church of Scandia on June 23 and 24. Seventy-fifth anniversaries were celebrated by the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis on May 20 to 27, the Rosendale Lutheran Church on June 10, St. John's Lutheran Church of Arlington Township, Sibley County, on July 1, and the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Church of Courtland Township, Nicollet County, on July 1; sixty-fifth anniversaries, by the Lutheran Church of Long Lake Township, Watonwan County, on May 5 and 6, and the Hanley Falls Lutheran Church on June 23 and 24; sixtieth anniversaries, by the First Covenant Church of St. Paul on May 16 to 22, St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Paul on May 20, the Midway Lutheran Church of Proctor on June 17, the Swedlanda Lutheran Church of Palmyra Township, Renville County, on June 24 to 26, and the Hamar Lutheran Church on June 30 and July 1; fiftieth anniversaries, by the Beauford United Brethren Church on June 3, the Norwegian Lutheran Church of St. Hilaire on June 17, the First Evangelical Lutheran Church of Winthrop on June 22 to 24, the Providence Lutheran Church on June 22 to 24, the First St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Owatonna on June 24, and the Merriam Park Presbyterian Church of St. Paul from June 27 to July 1; twenty-fifth anniversaries, by the Union Congregational Church of Minnewashta from April 20 to 22, the First Lutheran Church of International Falls on June 16 and 17, the Bethany Lutheran Church of Loman on June 16 and 17, and Our Lady of the Lake Catholic Church of Mound on July 8; and a twentieth anniversary, by the Christian Reformed Church of Hills on June 25.

A bronze tablet commemorating the services of Samuel and Gideon Pond, the Minnesota missionaries, has been placed on the walls of the Pond home at Bloomington by the Keewaydin chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. It was dedicated on June 16 during a celebration of the centennial of the brothers' arrival in Minnesota which was arranged by the Pond Family Association. Among the

speakers was Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock of the Minnesota Historical Society, who sketched the careers of the Pond brothers.

The attitude of the missionary toward the Indian is expressed by Bishop Whipple in a letter written to Chief White Dog in 1861, discovered recently by the Reverend John G. Larsen at the mission near Morton and published in the *Morton Enterprise* for April 5. "We bring you the message of the Great Spirit, because we love you and yours," writes Whipple. "We ask no price — we have no words to sell. We only ask that you hear what God says."

No less than fifteen women's clubs planned programs around the study of Minnesota and its history during the past year, according to the directory included in the *Year Book* of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs for 1933-34. The names of these clubs follow: the Monday Study Club of Hayfield, the Tuesday Club of Lanesboro, the Pratt Progressive Club, the Weimer Utility Club of Heron Lake, the Monday Study Club of Slayton, the Delphian Past Presidents Club of Minneapolis, the Minerva Study Club of Minneapolis, the Ollapodrida Club of Minneapolis, the Ramblers Club of Minneapolis, the Searchlight Study Club of Minneapolis, the Woman's Club of Alexandria, the Woman's Improvement Club of Carlos, the Reading Circle of Clinton, the Woman's Club of Warren, and the Mound Woman's Club.

The activities of member clubs of the seventh district of the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs during sixty years are surveyed in the *Swift County Monitor* of Benson for May 4. An entire section of the paper is devoted to women's activities, the occasion being the thirty-second annual convention of the seventh district clubs, which was held at Benson on May 10 and 11. A brief résumé of the history of each of the seventy-nine clubs in the district is presented, starting with the Current News Club of Marshall, which was organized in 1874 and joined the state federation in 1896. Accounts of earlier conventions held in Swift County also are included.

The story of the founding of the Lyngblomsten Home for the Aged in St. Paul is reviewed in a *Souvenir Book Covering a Thirty Year Period of the Lyngblomsten Corporation's History* (1933. 64 p.). It reveals that in 1903 the Lyngblomsten Society was organ-

ized in Minneapolis with Mrs. Anna Quale Fergstad as president; that in time branches were organized at St. Paul, Madison, Duluth, Mankato, and other places; that in 1909 land for the home was acquired; and that in 1912 the home was opened.

A Minnesota "old-time, pre-Volstead brewery" and the life for which it formed a center are described by Meridel LeSueur in a sketch entitled "Beer Town," which is included in *Life in the United States: A Collection of Narratives of Contemporary American Life from First-hand Experience or Observation* (New York, 1933).

The plot of *Court House Square*, a novel by Phil LaMar Anderson, centers around the newspaper office of a small Minnesota community called Plainview (Minneapolis, 1934. 238 p.). The story deals with the experiences of journalists who publish a small town weekly and with the social and political life of the modern middle-western community.

The career of a pioneer Minneapolis lawyer and philanthropist, Levi Merrick Stewart, is the subject of a multigraphed pamphlet recently issued by Maynard W. Quimby (25 p.). Sections are devoted to the Stewart family, to Stewart's boyhood in Maine and his education at Dartmouth and Harvard, and to his life in Minneapolis, where he settled in 1856 and lived until his death in 1910.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

A step toward the organization of an Anoka County historical society was taken on June 28, when the superintendent of the state historical society addressed a group of people interested in the project at Anoka. A committee was appointed to work out plans for a local historical society. This committee has since drafted a constitution and planned a program of local historical work.

The excavation of an ancient village site in Anoka County near Howard Lake, which is being directed by Dr. Albert E. Jenks of the department of archeology of the University of Minnesota, is described in the *Anoka County Union* and the *Anoka Herald* for June 27.

A brief history of Trinity Episcopal Church of Anoka appears in a program issued on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, which was celebrated on September 17 and 18, 1933.

Histories of Beltrami County townships continue to appear in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* and the *Bemidji Sentinel* (see *ante*, p. 132, 244). Sketches of the following townships have appeared recently: Bemidji Township, organized in 1897, in the *Pioneer* for May 17 and the *Sentinel* for May 25; Grant Valley Township, organized in 1898, in the *Pioneer* for June 4; Buzzle Township, organized in 1900, in the *Pioneer* of June 14 and the *Sentinel* of June 29; Eckles Township, organized in 1899, in the *Pioneer* for June 22 and the *Sentinel* for June 29; and Liberty Township, organized in 1898, in the *Pioneer* for June 30. In each case the story of the organization of the township is presented, local officials are named, and the activities of the township boards are recorded.

Winners of the essay contest conducted by the Blue Earth County Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 245) read the prize-winning essays at a meeting of the society at Mankato on April 2. The program also included brief addresses by W. H. Detamore, county superintendent of schools, and J. E. Anderson, superintendent of the Mankato schools, both of whom recalled pioneer schools of the vicinity. The speaker at another meeting of the society, held on May 7, was Mr. George M. Palmer, who presented his recollections of business life in Blue Earth County.

The passing of three-quarters of a century since the Dakota House, a pioneer New Ulm hotel, was opened is the occasion for the publication of sketches of its history in the *Brown County Journal* for April 13 and the *New Ulm Review* for April 19. The hotel was established by Adolph Seiter in 1859, and it is interesting to note that it "has always been in the hands of some member of the family that founded it." According to the account in the *Journal*, "the key of the Dakota house has never been turned in the lock but once, and that was during the period of evacuation of the town" in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. Its use as a hospital during the Indian war also is described.

Reminiscent letters written by Mr. and Mrs. M. C. Robertson of Deputy, Indiana, former residents of Springfield, are published in the *Brown County Journal* of New Ulm for April 13. Mrs. Robertson's letter is of special interest, for she tells of her experiences in helping to publish the *Springfield Advance* from 1890 to 1904.

Events connected with the history of Stony Point on Leech Lake are recalled in an article in the *Cass County Independent* of Hackensack for June 1. Pike's visit to the British post on Leech Lake and Boutwell's mission for the Pillagers are described in some detail. The announcement is made that an effort is under way to have the Stony Point district designated a national park.

An historical sketch of Sunset Lodge, a Masonic organization at Montevideo, by Sumner L. Moyer, appears in the *Montevideo News* for May 18 and the *Montevideo American* for May 25. The account seems to be based largely upon the manuscript minutes of the lodge.

A pioneer log cabin constructed in Bowman Park at Moorhead was opened to the public for the first time on May 19. Most of the materials used in building the cabin were taken from a structure erected at Moorhead in 1859. Various articles illustrative of pioneer life have been loaned for display in the cabin.

A visit to the Crow Wing County historical museum at Brainerd is described in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for May 22. Special attention is given to the exhibits illustrative of Indian life and of pioneer logging to be found in this museum. "If the teachers of our county would like to make history real to their students," concludes the writer, "they would do well to bring them to visit the historical museum." The Crow Wing County Historical Society and its museum are given further publicity in a number of articles by the secretary, Mrs. J. G. Heald, which appear from time to time in the *Brainerd Tribune*. These sketches are devoted to descriptions of recent accessions in the museum and "life records" of Crow Wing County pioneers. In the issue for April 19, for example, are an account of a file of the *Northern Tribune* of Brainerd for 1884, recently presented by Mrs. Lily Ericson, and a sketch of Mrs. James S. Gardner, a pioneer of the seventies.

A statement issued by the Crow Wing County Historical Society advocating the reconstruction of old Fort Ripley "exactly as it was on its old site" is published in the *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* for June 26. Although the site of Fort Ripley is in Morrison County, the Crow Wing County society offers to coöperate with other local historical societies in the restoration of the old fort.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Staples School in district number 5, Mendota Township, Dakota County, was celebrated by the alumni and present pupils on May 5. The history of the school was reviewed by Mrs. George H. Staples. It is also the subject of an article in the *West St. Paul Booster and Dakota County Globe* for May 4.

A detailed narrative entitled "Pioneer Days in Vernon Township" by George Gilbertson has been appearing in installments in the *Hayfield Herald* since March 15. The material presented is largely of a reminiscent nature, since the writer and his family settled in Vernon Township in 1868. Many details of frontier life in Dodge County are described — the muddy roads encountered by the Gilbertsons upon their arrival, the crude frontier cabin, frontier doctors, the water supply, barns and their construction, the care of cattle, blizzards, cyclones, Christmas celebrations, food and its preparation, early schools, clothing, and the like.

Professor Edward W. Schmidt of St. Olaf College, Northfield, has presented a large collection of archeological objects which he assembled in the vicinity of Red Wing to the Goodhue County Historical Society. The collection is a valuable addition to the society's museum.

The days when there were "sixteen trains a day through Mound, thousands of commuters going into the Twin Cities by train" are recalled in an article in the *Minnetonka Pilot* of Mound for June 7 which calls attention to the services of James Woolnough, a conductor on the Minnetonka line.

The Life Story of John Tuininga, the Second, related by his daughter, Anna Tuininga Brown, has been published as a four-page leaflet. It records the adventures of a Dutch family that emigrated in 1851 and settled on a farm in Houston County.

A History of the Spring Grove Church Organizations published in 1933 (71 p.) contains sketches by various authors of eight women's societies connected with Trinity Lutheran Church of Spring Grove, of the church auxiliary, and of its parochial school. Accounts of six ladies' aid societies, some of which were organized in the eighties, of a missionary federation, and of a Dorcas society are included.

The "educational progress" made at Deer River since the early nineties, when a crude log building served as a schoolhouse, is the subject of an article in the *Deer River News* for May 31. Pictures of the early school and of the present village school accompany the article.

The "Diamond Jubilee" of the organization of Kanabec County was the occasion for a three-day celebration at Mora from July 2 to 4. Historical pageants presented by members of local 4-H clubs, exhibits of pioneer objects, a special edition of the *Kanabec County Times* on July 28, a meeting of the Kanabec County Historical Society, and an address by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, were features of the celebration. Dr. Blegen spoke on the historical backgrounds of the county on July 3. The issue of the *Times* commemorated both the county's jubilee and the "golden anniversary" of the founding of the paper. A newspaper history of Mora, with reminiscent articles by two former editors, R. W. Safford and R. M. Pope, is included. Among the more general articles in the issue are an outline of the historical backgrounds of the region; an account of the organization of the county on June 10, 1859, with an explanation of the origin of the name, and stories of the first county election and of the activities of county officials; and a review of the founding of Mora, the county seat, in 1882. Since the great convocation of Indians that Radisson and Groseilliers attended in 1660 is supposed to have taken place near Knife Lake in Kanabec County, the exploits of these explorers are the subject of a separate article. Considerable space is given to logging operations in the Snake River district, an industry of primary importance in the pioneer history of the county. Pictures of logging camps, of a log jam, and of "wannagans" or house boats that were used to carry provisions during driving operations are of special interest. Since no history of Kanabec County has been published, this issue of the *Times* forms a valuable source for the student of the history of the district.

A meeting held at Marshall on June 14 resulted in the organization of the Lyon County Historical Society. Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the state historical society's museum, was the speaker. The following officers were elected for the new organization: A. P. Rose of Marshall, president; F. A. Timm of Balaton, vice president; and W. C. Peterson of Marshall, secretary-treasurer.

About seven thousand people attended a picnic and pageant arranged by the Marshall County Historical Society at the Old Mill picnic grounds in Foldahl Township on June 17. The story of the early history and settlement of the county was reviewed in the pageant, which was arranged and directed by Mrs. Ella K. Trost of Warren. An interesting loan exhibit of pioneer objects was placed on display in connection with the picnic.

A total of 117 essays were submitted by high-school students in the local history essay contest sponsored by the Marshall County Historical Society (see *ante*, p. 249). The first prize was awarded to Mavis Gates of Stephen for an essay on "Pioneer Days"; the second, to Verna E. Nelson of Strandquist for an account of "What Happened in Nelson Park between the Years of 1878 and 1895"; and the third, to Edith Johnson of Warren for a paper on "Pioneer Days."

Meetings of the Murray County Historical Society were held at Slayton on April 2 and May 7. At the latter meeting Dr. H. M. Workman of Tracy spoke on the Lake Shetek massacre, and Mrs. S. Barrows of Chandler recalled pioneer experiences in the western section of the county.

The museum of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which is located in the basement of the courthouse at Fergus Falls, was opened to the public on May 26. The space occupied by the museum was made available by the county commissioners, and it was prepared for the use of the society by CWA workers. About a thousand visitors viewed the exhibits on the day that the museum opened, according to a report in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for May 28, which includes descriptions of some of the displays.

An announcement that a park known as the Pipestone National Shrine has been established at the pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota is made in the *Pipestone County Star* for May 15. A road to the quarry was built as a CWA project.

Under the general title of "History of the Northwest," Win V. Working is publishing in the *Crookston Daily Times* a series of brief sketches relating to the history of the Red River Valley, Polk County, and Crookston. The early articles, which deal with geology, arche-

ology, the Indians, the fur trade, and exploration, are arranged roughly in chronological order. They seem to indicate that the author is attempting to carry out the promise made in the introduction to his opening article, published on April 17: "to outline the history of Polk County, and adjacent areas clearly and accurately." But as the narrative progresses, the writer seems to forget this promise. From a description of the Red River brigades and ox-cart transportation over the Red River trails (April 28), he goes back to explorers, such as Pike, Long, and Beltrami (April 30); after publishing a whole group of articles on the development of railroads in the Red River country (May 28 to June 5), he turns to stagecoach transportation in the valley (June 6). Though much of the material presented is quoted from other sources, some valuable and inaccessible items are included; for example, the list of residents of Red River Junction that appears in the census for 1860 is published on May 22. In some of the articles that follow sketches of a few of these pioneers are presented—George W. Northrup, Samuel J. Painter, and Charles Cavileer.

"A Brief History of the Citizens Band of Fairfax" by Frank Hopkins, who served as bandmaster for more than thirty years, appears in the *Fairfax Standard* for April 26. The part played by this organization in the social and cultural development of the community is brought out by the writer.

The geology of Rice County was discussed by Dr. Laurence M. Gould of Carleton College and the Indian mounds and archeology of the district were described by Professor Edward W. Schmidt of St. Olaf College at the spring meeting of the Rice County Historical Society, which was held at Northfield on April 23.

The story of the "Eastern Boundary of St. Louis County" is outlined in the *Two Harbors Chronicle* for April 19. Changes in this boundary, which is also the western border of Lake County; town sites in the vicinity, such as Buchanan and Montezuma, that existed for a brief period and failed to develop into permanent communities; and geographic and economic features of the region are described.

A series of local historical sketches by J. E. Townsend in the *Belle Plaine Herald* includes several published in May and June in which

the writer presents his recollections of the Indians of the vicinity and of the effect of the Sioux War. He notes that in the hotel which was run by his father, during the outbreak "the largest crowds . . . would be after sundown, when the refugees would arrive in lots of two to ten or more, all fatigued and hungry." A "History of School District No. 37" by Allen Taylor, read on June 16 at the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the district, in Belle Plaine Township, appears in the *Herald* for June 21. The author used the manuscript minutes of the school board of the sixties in the preparation of his account, which is published also in the *Jordan Independent* for June 21.

Once prosperous Todd County communities that are no longer to be found on a map of the region are described by O. B. DeLaurier in a series of articles entitled "Forgotten Post Offices," the first of which appears in the *Long Prairie Leader* for May 3. An article published on January 18 about Daylight, a post office established in Little Sauk Township in 1876, aroused such widespread comment and interest that Mr. DeLaurier was invited to prepare a series of historical sketches about the county's forgotten communities. In each article he describes the founding of a settlement, names some of the early residents, tells about industrial, commercial, educational, and other developments, and gives some reasons for its decline. The subjects of the articles and the dates of publication follow: Bear Head, May 3; Batavia, May 10; Oak Hill, May 17; Clotho, May 24; Hartford, May 31; Burnhamville-Pillsbury, June 7; and Drywood, June 14.

Recollections of "Early Days in Todd County" by A. J. Gibson of Long Prairie, a pioneer of 1857, appear in installments in the *Long Prairie Leader* from March 29 to April 26. A journey from Kingston, Ontario, to Little Falls, which was made largely by stage-coach in 1856; a winter spent in the frontier lumber town; the removal to Long Prairie in the following year; the old Winnebago agency and its pioneer inhabitants; the excitement that accompanied the Sioux Outbreak; and many other incidents and features connected with pioneer life in Todd County are recalled by the author.

At a meeting held at Lake City on April 15 the Lake Pepin Valley Historical Society was organized. Mr. G. M. Dwelle was elected

president; Mrs. George Selover, vice president; Mr. W. H. Pletsch, secretary; Mr. M. L. Erickson, treasurer; and Miss Jennie Baker, corresponding secretary. Four officers of the Goodhue County Historical Society attended a meeting of the new society at Lake City on June 11, and Mr. C. A. Rasmussen and Dr. M. W. Smith addressed the gathering.

Historical sketches of two pioneer Lake City business institutions—the Lake City Bank and Trust Company and the Jewell Nursery—appear in the *Wabasha County Leader* for April 5. The bank was established in 1867 by C. W. Hackett and the nursery in the following year by Phineas A. Jewell and Joseph M. Underwood. It is interesting to note that the “early demand for hardy types of fruit and forestation planting material” throughout the upper Mississippi Valley led to the founding of the nursery on Lake Pepin.

About seventy-five people attended an enthusiastic meeting at Stillwater on April 11 which resulted in the formation of the Washington County Historical Society. Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the state society, was the principal speaker. Mr. E. E. Bloomquist, county superintendent of schools, was named president; Mrs. W. C. Masterman, vice president; Miss Gertrude Glennon, second vice president; Mrs. Robert Harrigan, secretary; and Miss Anne Connors, treasurer. The first regular meeting of the society was held on May 14, when the Reverend A. C. Ernst spoke on “Objectives for the Immediate Future.”

Our Town in the Early Days: A History of Breckenridge, a paper prepared by Mrs. L. R. Jones for presentation before the Woman's Study Club of Breckenridge, has been issued in multi-graphed form as a pamphlet. She describes the establishment of the town site in 1857, the destruction of the settlement during the Sioux War, and its rebuilding after the coming of the railroad in the early seventies.

A pageant representing the early history of the Whitewater Valley and of Winona County was presented by members of the Winona County 4-H Leaders Club at Whitewater State Park on May 26. A collection of objects illustrative of pioneer life collected in the vicinity was exhibited on the day of the pageant.

"A Short History of the Clarkfield Fire Department," which was organized in March, 1904, appears in the *Clarkfield Advocate* for June 21. The growth of the department, the purchase of improved equipment, and the extension of its field of service are described.

A brief history of Zion Lutheran Church of Minneapolis was published in pamphlet form (16 p.) to mark the fiftieth anniversary of its founding, which was celebrated by members of the congregation on February 11.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Merriam Park Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, which was celebrated from June 27 to July 1, was the occasion for the publication of a booklet about the history of the church (40 p.). The founding and early years of the church are recalled by C. A. Magnuson, a charter member; E. D. Thomas describes the "new church" erected in 1912-14; and brief accounts of the Sunday school and of various church organizations are included.

